

LIB. G. K. V.

PR
954.06
D37P
V.2

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

पुस्तकालय



विषय संख्या

पुस्तक संख्या

आगत पंजिका संख्या

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का

निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया

१५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक

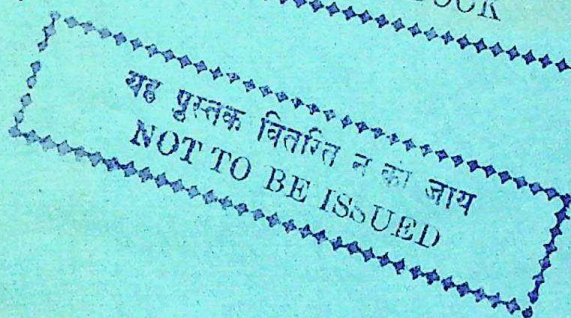
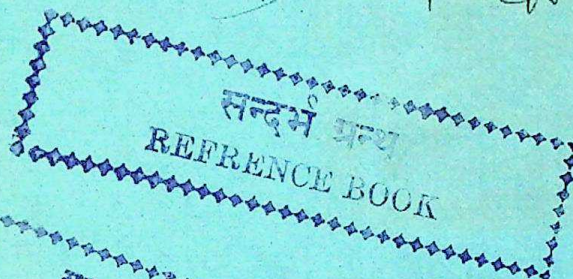
अपने पास न रखें।

64093

112116

30 MAR 1976

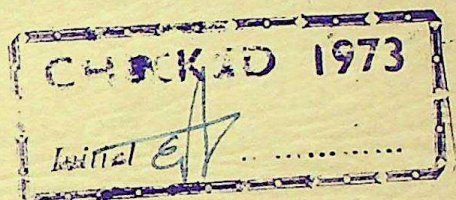
~~D-16212~~ *Edi*



नमादी करण १९८४-१९८५

Edi

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
NINETEENTH SESSION
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI
DECEMBER 1957



PART II

Published by :

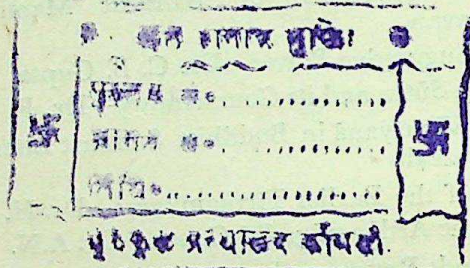
THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE
19th Session of the
ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
DELHI
1961

R
954.06
D37 P
P. II
1957

CONTENTS

	PAGES
1. The Word Pravāt in the R̥gveda—Dr. S. S. Bhawe	1
2. On the R̥gvedic Text-Criticism—Fr. A. Asteller	13
3. Yoga in R̥gveda—Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran	34
4. On the Oral and the Written Transmissions of the Avesta Text—Dr. Hormazdyar Mirza	37
5. Bhavabhūti and Umbeka—MM. V. V. Mirashi	45
6. Some New Collections of Sanskrit Manuscripts—Dr. V. Raghavan	52
7. Vyañjanā or Suggestive Power—Dr. C. B. Gupta	59
8. Arthaviniścaya Sūtra and its Commentary—Dr. P. V. Bapat	63
9. Śamatha and Vipāśyanā in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature—Dr. Amalia Pezzali	68
10. The Practice of the Earlier Tīrthaṃkaras—Dr. H. L. Jain	75
11. Aṇuppehā in the Ardhamāgadhī Canon—Dr. A.N. Upadhye	82
12. Notes on Land Revenue System in the Pre-Maurya Period—Dr. Ram Sharan Sharma	86
13. Geographical Evidence from the Kāśyapa Saṃhitā—Dr. Uma Kant P. Shah	94
14. Khajuraho Temples—Dr. Hari Ram Mishra	110
15. Belief in a Solar World in India—Shri K. N. Śāstrī	120
16. Elliptical Sentence-Indian Theories—Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja	126
17. Sounds and Prosodies of Certain Cognates in the Dravidian—M. Mariappa Bhat	130
18. श्रीमद्भागवतस्य वैशिष्ट्यम्—डाक्टर नरेन्द्रनाथ चौधुरी	132
19. Relation Between the Bhagavadgītā and the Brahmasūtra—Shri P. M. Modi	136
20. The Philosophical and Historical Background of the Conception of Rādhā—Dr. Rasik Vihari Joshi	140
21. Tantra and its Philosophy—Smt. Bina Chakravarti	146
22. Vedic Osteology—Dr. V. W. Karambelkar	150
23. जन्मसंस्कार के लोकाचार और उनसे सम्बन्धित शब्दावली—डा० अम्बाप्रसाद सुमन	157
24. 1857 and Urdu Poets (in Urdu)—Dr. Gopi Chand Narang	165
25. Shri Guru Grantha Sahib Ji Dee Boli (in Gurumukhi)—Dr. S. S. Kohli	169
26. Genesis and Growth of Sindhi Language—K. B. Khushalani	179

CONTENTS



THE WORD PRAVÁT IN THE RĠ-VEDA

By

DR. S. S. BHAWE, BARODA UNIVERSITY

1. *Introductory.*

There is still need for a detailed study of the words in RV. as is proved by the recent works of L. Renou,¹ P. Thieme,² H. Lüders³ and many other scholars⁴ in this field. It is obvious that unless many of the difficulties with which not a few of the Rgvedic words are thickly surrounded are so solved, anything like a workable interpretation is not possible. Apart from phonetic difficulties, many Rgvedic words being in the process of undergoing a considerable semantic change even during the time of the RV. itself, the task of fixing their meaning becomes difficult. Even apparently simple words present difficult problems on account of their polysemic character and it has, indeed, become a necessary part of Vedic exegesis to make all possible efforts to solve them. The word *pravát* is a word of this type. Though apparently simple, it is used in various contexts and obviously in various meanings and in certain passages the word by itself assumes the proportion of an independent problem. In this paper, therefore, an attempt is made to offer a study of this word.

The word *pravát* has considerably deluded Vedic scholars. In its various forms and derivatives, it occurs fairly frequently in the RV. and being most probably adjectival in nature when used by itself, it makes the task of interpretation more difficult with the necessity of adding suitable substantives to it. Traditional interpreters like Sāy. and the modern ones like Gld. and others have translated the word variously and have thereby unconsciously demonstrated its difficult nature.⁵ Prof. Macdonell in his discussion on 'The Principles of translating the Rgveda' has pointed it out as a fault of Sāy that he gives several inconsistent interpretations of the same word occurring at different places⁶ and one cannot at the same time say that even modern interpreters are entirely free from such a fault. It is perhaps not quite possible to avoid this fault, yet to arrive at a consistent interpretation of the

1. Among some of the most recent works on Rgvedic words, cf. L. Renou: *Études sur quelques mots Védique*, in *Études Védique et Pāṇinien*, Tome II, Paris 1956, pp. 105-113, in which the words *juhū*, *trṣṣā* and *ard* are discussed.

2. Cf. P. Thieme: *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rgveda*, Halle, 1949; also, *Der Fremdling im Rgveda*.

3. Cf. H. Lüders: *Varuṇa und die Wasser*, Göttingen, 1951, in which words like *rocand*, *nāka*, *kakūd*, etc. are discussed in great detail.

4. Cf. Nilmadhav Sen: 'A Note on *svaghnin*', JOIB, I. 369; cf. A. Venkatasubbiah: *Vedic Studies*, *radhrā* and *aradhrā*, JORM XIX, pp. 253-262, etc.; also in JBBRAS (New Series) V, pp. 11 ff.

5. Pischel in *Ved. Stud.* II. 63 ff. has offered a learned study of this word; due note is taken of his views in this paper. How varied are the different translations of this word by different scholars is shown by him (*ibid.* p. 64).

6. Macdonell: 'The Principles of translating the Rīgveda', The Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 1-21; cf. also his *Vedic Reader*, Introduction, p. XXX.

same word in its different contexts has got to be the aim of word-studies like the present one.

2. The derivation of *pravāt*.

Let us first examine its derivation. The Pp. does write it with an *avagraha*, meaning thereby that it is a compound word. Prof. Gld. in his 'Glossar' (p. 118 ff.) takes it to be the pres. part. of $\sqrt{\text{pru}}$, noting at the same time that it is against Pp. This is not acceptable because merely the participial meaning from $\sqrt{\text{pru}}$ does not suit many of the contexts. Moreover, various forms and derivatives of the root $\sqrt{\text{pru}}$ occur in the RV. and if the word were derived from that root, the author of the Pp. would not have failed to understand it; at least we cannot say that he could be ignorant of the possibility of its being a pres. part. of $\sqrt{\text{Pru}}$ in which case the *avagraha* was not necessary. The accusative sing. form of the word (fem. or masc.) occurs as *ṛavātam* (5.31.1); if it were a pres. part. from $\sqrt{\text{pru}}$, the form would have been *pravantam*¹ which occurs nowhere in the RV. Further, the most important thing to be noted is that *pravāt* as a pres. part. would have the accent on *prā* and not on *-vā*² which once and for all rules out Gld.'s derivation, which is Pischel's view also. Prof. Macdonell, however, with his keen sense of grammatical accuracy derives the word from the adverb or preposition *pra* with the termination *-vāt* and takes it to be an abstract substantive with a local sense,³ 'height'. The derivation is acceptable but the meaning 'height' does not suit all the contexts. Macdonell himself in translating 1. 35. 4 gives up the sense 'height' and translates it with 'a down word (path)',⁴ and in a way makes it necessary that we must take the word somewhat differently than what his derivation allows. Here, we get a help from Pāṇ. 5. 1. 118⁵ which is followed by Sāy. and others. I have pointed out elsewhere⁶ that the rules of Pāṇ. with their accurate observation of the linguistic facts of Veda (as also of classical Sanskrit) possess a great value for Vedic interpretation and the derivation of the present word should be one more example in point. According to this Sūtra, such words are formed, only in the Vedic language, from *upāsargas* by adding the termination *-vāt*⁷ (i.e. *vati*) in the sense of 'action' (*dhātvartha*) qualified by that of the preposition to which it is added (the action being not actually mentioned by any component part of the word). The stock example is *udvāt* = *udgata*. Thus, *pravāt* would mean anything having 'intensity' or 'excess' (this being the sense of *prā*) of the action with which it is connected in the particular context; (thus *pravāt* = *pragata* or *prasruta*, and so on). Obviously, the word is not a substantive though its use as a substantive is not excluded. This derivation is not formally different from the one given by Macdonell⁸; yet the use to which it is put is made clearer

1. According to Pāṇ. 7. 1. 70, the usual rule of having the infix *n* in the first five cases of the pres. part. (masc.) would have to be applied.

2. The accenting of the pres. part. of forms with a thematic *a* (i. e. the *adupadeśa dhātus* according to Pāṇ.), like *gacchat*, etc. is governed by Pāṇ.'s rule 6.1. 186; further in the first conj. the thematic *a* (i.e. *īap*) is unaccented and the radical accent remains. For the same accent-rule but differently stated, see Macdonell: VG § 86. 4, p. 82.

3. Macdonell: Vedic Grammar (Grund. I. A. Phi., etc.) § 233.

4. Macdonell: Vedic Reader, p. 13.

5. *upāsargāc chandasi dhātvarthe = dhātvartha-viśiṣṭe sādhanē vartamānāt svārthe vatiḥ syāt*.

6. S. S. Bhawar: 'Pāṇini's rules and Vedic Interpretation', paper read before the XVII. A. I. O. Conference (Vedic Section), Ahmedabad, 1953.

7. This has to be distinguished from the possessive termination *-vat* (i.e. *vatup*) which is not accented, whereas this termination is accented, i.e., *udātta*.

8. Of course, it is not clear whether Macdonell takes *-vāt* as possessive or otherwise.

by Pāṇ, who gives a definite clue to its interpretation. Moreover, the word does occur in the RV. in a majority of cases as adj. justifying Pāṇini's interpretation of it. Sāy. actually gives this derivation in the course of his *bhāṣya*¹ and explains the word accordingly, i.e., as showing the intensity, etc. of the intended action. It is thus clear that the word cannot be taken as a pres. part. against the evidence of Pp., Pāṇ., Sāy. and Macdonell. Moreover, when we take it as a pres. part. of *pru* meaning 'to flow' or 'to wave or hop',² we will always have to restrict ourselves to this meaning which clearly does not suit all its occurrences in the RV. even according to Gld.'s recent published translation.

3. Method to be followed in discussing the word *pravāt*.

Taking, therefore, the word *pravāt* to be derived in the way discussed above, it should be now possible to fix its meaning in the RV. By the very nature of the word (which is to be connected with different 'actions' according to the context), to fix one meaning for all its occurrences is obviously impossible. It is, however, possible to fix at least the atmosphere or the *milieu* to which the word could belong and then to subject it to some interpretation. An examination of its different occurrences in the RV. would show that this can be done more systematically if we classify the occurrences according to the inflected forms. The word occurs in the RV. in the following cases :-

- (a) Thrice in nom. or acc. sing. as *pravāt* or *pravātam*.
- (b) Nearly thirteen times as acc. plu. (at times, perhaps gen. sing.) as *pravātaḥ* and twice more in gen. and loc. plu. as *pravātām* or *pravātsu*.
- (c) Nearly thirteen times in instr. sing. as *pravātā* (the instr. plu. *pravādbhiḥ* occurring only once).
- (d) The derivative form *pravātvat* occurs nearly eight times (once in a comp., viz. *pravādyāman*).

A further analysis would show that the meaning of the word can be roughly divided into three categories each of which finds itself consistently applicable to groups (a), (b), (c) respectively given above. Thus in group (a) the meaning appears to be that of a substantive or preferably an adj. showing 'intensity of the action in the context.' With the acc., i.e., in group (b) the meaning varies in different contexts; the meaning 'river' or 'stream' as given by Pischel and Gld. being applicable in some cases though not always. In group (c), with the instr. the meaning appears to be easily fixable, the word signifying 'a steep' or 'an ascending or descending path.' In group (d), with the derivative words, there appears to be no difficulty regarding the sense where 'intensity of the given action appears to work in

1. Cf. Sāy. on 3. 30. 6, Poona-Ed. p. 313f; Sāy. at 1. 33. 6 gives a different *prakriyā*; he derives it from *van* with *pra*, the termination being *kvip* and the whole word being a *gatīsamāsa*. But this derivation need not be accepted as it is more complicated and as the simpler derivation given above is noted by him in other places. Moreover, in his *bhāṣya* on AV. 1. 13. 2; 3. 1. 4; 18. 4. 7 etc., Sāy. gives repeatedly this derivation and in one place explains in detail how the word, though ending in *vat* is not an *avyaya* (at AV. 1. 13. 2) but is a substantive or adjective relying on *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*.

2. Cf. Gk. *plēw*, Swed. *bluk* & 'to hop' beside *fluka*, cf. Sūryakānta : A Grammatical Dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic), p. 181 referring to Wackernagel : *Altindische Grammatik*. I. p. 211.

all cases, many of them generally agreeing with (a). Thus our attempt to fix the meaning of the word must mainly concern itself with its occurrence as (i) a nom. or acc. sing. (2) acc. plu. or gen. sing. and (3) instr. sing., each group having roughly an independent uniform meaning in almost all its occurrences :—

GROUP (a):—

4. *Pravát*: nom. or acc. sg.

The word occurs in three passages:—

(i) In 9.74. 7 c : *dhiyá sámī sacate sám abhi pravát*, as *pravát* masc. nom. sing. or neu. acc. sing.; (ii) in 10. 142. 2 a. *pravát te agne jánimā pitūyatáh*, as neu. nom. sing. and (iii) in 5. 31. 1 a : (*indro ráthāya pravátam kṛṇoti*, as *pravátam*, masc. acc. sing. The last passage, viz. 5. 31. 1 a is easy and the context helps us at once to fix the meaning in accordance with Pāṇ. 5. 1. 118. The reference is to the chariot of Indra and *pravát* in that context can mean something possessing intensity or predominance (*prakarṣa*) of the action of running. Thus, we can translate the passage 'Indra gives speed to (his) chariot'. Gld.¹ wants the word to mean 'start', which in effect is the same. Sāy.² renders it as *ājim*, which is not so clear. The first *pāda*, however, of the next *rc* (cf. 5. 31. 2 a : *ā prá drava harivo mā vi venah*) supports our meaning. Therein Indra is exhorted to run to the devotee and hence the statement in *rc* 1a that Indra gives speed to his chariot is quite understandable. The passage 10. 142. 2 a supports us in the interpretation we are seeking for *pravát*. The birth of Agni 'when he wishes to have food' (*pitūyatáh*) is said to be *pravát*; obviously, this means that when Agni is enkindled, i.e., when he is born, he begins to burn vigorously. In this exact sense a synonymous but differently formed word is used in the Ait. Br. 3. 1. 4 cf. : *agner vā etāḥ sarvās tanvo yad etā devatāḥ, sa yad agniḥ pravān iva dahati tad asya vāyavyam rūpam*). The context is to represent the presence of all deities in Agni; for that purpose first it is shown that when he burns vigorously, it is, as it were, this form which is identical with Vāyu. Here the word *pravān* (masc. nom. sing. of the pres. part. of \sqrt{pru} as the accent shows), expresses the intensity of Agni's burning and thus entitles him to be identical with Vāyu. Gld.'s translation,³ therefore, viz., "thy birth, Agni, (becomes) a stream", etc., is much beside the mark, taking *pravát*—'a river', which was the meaning fixed by Pischel.⁴ Gld. supports it on the supposition that the passage refers to a wild fire and that the comparison with a stream is supported by 1. 95. 10; 44. 12 cd. The first passage, viz., 1. 95. 10 cannot necessarily be said to refer to a wild or forest-fire, though the second, viz., 1. 44. 12 ed does say that 'the flames of Agni shine like the waves of rivers', etc. But that need not force us to take the meaning 'river' here too. The idea that Agni's birth is a river sounds bizarre. It is one thing to say that Agni is born in the waters (*apsū*) and quite another to say that his birth becomes a river. For the meaning of *pravát*—'a river', Pischel (*Vedische Studien*, pp. 73-76) discusses several AV. passages, many of which do not support his meaning. For the Yama-passage (RV. 10. 14. 1) he gives the famous AV. passage 6. 28. 3 : *yāḥ prathamāḥ pravātām āsāda* and in order to

1. Geldner: *Der Rgveda*, HOS. 34. 28.

2. Cf. Sāy. *rathāya pravatam pravanam ājim kṛṇoti karoti*, Poona Ed., Vol. II, p. 807.

3. Geldner: *ibid.* p. 375.

4. For a refutation of Pischel's views, see later on in this paper.

support that *pravātaḥ* means 'rivers' he refers to AV. 18. 4. 7: *tīrthāis taranti pravāto mahir iti*, where the phrase *tīrthā is taranti* can apparently suggest the meaning 'river' for *pravātaḥ* (which also may be supported by later Purāṇic references that the dead have to cross the Vaitaraṇī-river)¹. No doubt, *tīrthā* even in the RV. appears to have already got the meaning of a 'ford' or 'a way leading to waters', but it is not certain whether it can mean 'a bridge' which ought to have been the meaning in this context, if *pravātaḥ* meant rivers which have to be crossed by the dead. In such eschatological contexts *tīrthā* can mean 'a bridge' or 'something by which the dead are expected to cross the rivers and that could be the original meaning also from √ *tṛ* 'to cross.' It is not, however unlikely that the later meaning of *tīrthā* = 'a sort of row of steps' (whereby one goes to a river) would very well fit in with word *pravātaḥ*, even if it meant 'a slope' or 'high region',—the meaning which can be fixed for this word in passages like 10. 14. 1, etc. Further, in AV. *pravātaḥ* is contrasted with *parāvātaḥ* in 10. 10. 3 and with *udvātaḥ* in 12. 11. 2, which obviously supports the meanings 'a steep,' etc., in contrast to *parāvāt* 'a distant place' or *udvāt* 'a high place.' Moreover, for Pischel's thesis, he earlier (*ibid.* p. 68) refers to the deity *pravato napāt* (AV. 1. 13. 2; 3), where he thinks that *pravāt* = 'a river', etc.; but this is not quite convincing, because the deity apparently is *vidyūt* and can even be called 'the child of height' (*pravāt*) as Whitney has done (cf. HOS. 7, p. 14). In fact, in almost all the occurrences of the word *pravāt* in AV. Whitney's² translation is 'slope' or 'height'. Further, the *pravāt* passage in RV. (10. 142. 2 a), Pischel translates: "Water, O Agni, is thy origin" on the strength of the famous Agni-epithets *apām napāt*, *garbhah*, etc. One need not necessarily dispute this but a different interpretation is not excluded. In this passage, the vigorous and forcible character of Agni's birth who is *pitūyāt*, i.e. longing for food is obviously described. Similarly, the forcible breaking up of Agni's flames is often described in the RV. and also in the Ait. Br. 3. 1. 4³. All this would show that *pravāt* even in the context of Agni's breaking flames means 'vigorous, forcible', etc.

The remaining passage, viz., 9. 74. 7 presents many difficulties and its full discussion is only possible in an independent article. Scholars differ on this point. Old.⁴ disageers with Pischel and wants to take *pravāt* as a shortening for *pravātā* or plu. *pravādbhiḥ* which Gld.⁵ actually does. In the same connection Old. wants to take the word adverbially. (Most probably he means neu. nom. sing. taken adverbially in the way *yathā syāt tathā*). The first alternative is against Pp. and to take the word as a shortening of *pravātā* against Pp. is tantamount to tampering with the text, which is now hardly resorted to by Vedic scholars, unless it be supported by reasons of orthoepy. Following our line of interpretation, the passage could be easily understood

1. But it is possible that the crossing of the rivers for the ordinary dead may certainly not be applicable to a god like Yama, in whose context no reference to waters or rivers need necessarily be understood.

2. Whitney does not refer to Pischel's work on *pravāt* because perhaps he did not consider it important (which is probably impossible) or it entirely escaped his attention. Anyway, it is difficult to say which; the reference to Pischel is actually added later on by Lanmann, naturally without any comment.

3. Here, of course, *prdvān* is nom. sing. of *prdvāt* formed with *prdv* + *vat* (i.e. *vatup*), which is possibly a wrong formation due to the misunderstanding of the real nature of Rgvedic *pravāt*, and not of *pravāt*, which would not have the nasal infix; it would only come if *vat* is a *vatup*, i.e., *ugit*; cf. Pāṇ. 7. 1. 70.

4. Oldenberg: *Noten* II. 173.

5. Geldner: *ibid.* p. 70.

(though we cannot claim finality for our interpretation). The whole hymn is no doubt much mystifying and certainly is difficult. Yet, the context of the *ꣳc* would help us much. The *pāda* refers to Soma being accompanied by songs (*dhiyā*) and by ritual service (*śāmī*) and in this context the word *pravāt* is used. The *upāsarga abhi*, which is more frequently used adnominally rather than adverbially,¹ should be taken proper note of. If we take the whole *pāda* as one sentence (against Sāy. as well as Western scholars who want to split it into two sentences), the meaning could be easy. First *pāda* refers to the white forms that the flowing Soma creates (i.e., when he mixes with milk) and if we take *im* in the 2nd *pāda* to refer to this activity, (i.e. taking *abhi* in the sense of 'over', 'towards', etc. governing the acc. *im* which stands for the action referred to in *pāda a*), we can arrive at a simple interpretation, where *pravāt* would signify the intensity of that action. So the translation would be: "(being) vigorous, over it (i.e., creating white forms), he (the Soma) is accompanied by songs and service" or, in other words, when the mixing of milk with Soma goes on vigorously giving out white foam, so to say, the activity of the priests gets further impetus.

GROUP (b) :—

5. *Pravātaḥ*: acc. plu. or gen. sg.

In this group, the form *pravātaḥ* occurs; it is generally acc. plu. or in some passages gen. sing., the context clearly deciding which case is meant. It is this group that presents some interpretational difficulties. We can divide the occurrences with reference to some of the associating words;— (i) where some preposition (adnominal) *prāti*, or *ānu* is used with *pravātaḥ* which is, then, acc. plu. (ii) where the word is connected with some substantive and is clearly gen. sing. (iii) where no such word gives any clue.

(i) The passages with *prāti* are easy to interpret. RV. 4. 17.7 c: *tvām prāti pravāta āśāyānam* and 4. 19-3c: *saptā prāti pravāta āśāyānam* occur in the Indra-Vṛtra-context; where Indra is said to have destroyed Vṛtra, who was lying over or against (*prāti*) rivers (*pravātaḥ*). Here it is clear that *pravāt* as accepted by Pischel (*ibid.* p. 66) and many other scholars can mean 'the rivers' (i.e. -*vāt* helping to express the sense of 'flowing, etc. in an intensive way'). As pointed out by Pischel the word *saptā* which is generally used with rivers, etc. in the RV. settles this sense beyond doubt. But in many of the other cases like 10. 14. 1, to try to see this meaning by way of some analogy as done by Pischel does not yield satisfactory results. In almost all these cases, if interpreted in the light of Pāṇ.'s rule, the word *pravāt*, as giving some *dhātvartha* in an intensive way fits the context very well. The cases with *ānu* governing the acc. to express the space or the way covered can first be taken up. That *pravātaḥ* is acc. plu. is further shown in those passages by some verb like *āśata*, etc. which ultimately shows motion; cf. 6. 17. 12 c: *tāsām ānu pravātaḥ indra pānthām prārdayaḥ*, where the reference is to the imprisoned waters of the rivers (cf. 6. 17. 12 ab) which were released by Indra and for which "Thou (i.e. Indra) duggest a path (*pānthām prārdayaḥ*) along the slopy regions (*ānu pravātaḥ*)"; here undoubtedly *pravāt* means 'a slope' and can mean nothing else. This meaning is further assured by the last words in 12 d, viz. *nīcīr apāsaḥ samudrām*, so that going or flowing down actively, they reach the ocean where the acc. *samudrām* is elliptical and some verb has to be added. Similarly, 10. 14. 1 a *pareyivām-*

1. Macdonell: Vedic Grammar, § 601.

saṁ pravāto mahir ānu, referring to Yama's journey to heaven over or along (ānu) great steep regions (*mahiḥ pravātaḥ*) supports the meaning suggested above. To see here the meaning 'rivers' as done by Pischel (*ibid.* p. 73) is certainly not necessary because the idea that many watery regions have to be crossed before reaching heaven is not anywhere clearly expressed in the RV; *pravātaḥ ānu*, in general, in the RV. gives the meaning 'along steep paths, regions', etc.; cf. further, 9.22.6 b: (*tāntum*) ānu pravāta āśāta, where Soma's ascent to heaven is described; in so doing Soma naturally goes through the high regions (*pravātaḥ*, acc. of space) of space (though the passage is otherwise rather difficult on account of its mystic character).

(ii) Where the word *pravātaḥ* is connected with some substantive as in 6. 47. 14: *pravāto nā ūrmīḥ*, the meaning is settled by the substantive; in this passage, obviously, the meaning 'water' or rather 'flowing waters' is undisputed.

(iii) Difficult indeed are the cases where no such clue is available. 1. 144. 5 c. *dhānor ādhi pravātaḥ ā sā ṛṇvati* having similarity with 10. 4. 3 c *dhānor ādhi pravātā yāsi hāryan*, is a difficult passage. Pischel (*ibid.* p. 69-70) has tried to prove that *dhānu* going back to \sqrt{dhan} has the meaning of 'water' or 'flood' (collectively). Out of the three parallel passages, two, viz., 1. 44. 5 c and 10. 4. 3 c described Agni when he is enkindled on the altar (of course, 10. 4. 3 ab is more mystic) and they should refer to identical surroundings. This gives us a good indication to settle the meaning of *dhānu*; especially, *dhānor ādhi pravātā yāsi* (10. 4. 3 c) and *bhūmyā ādhi pravātā yāsi* (10. 57. 2 c) provide such word to word parallel as would justify us in equating *dhānor ādhi* to *bhūmyāḥ ādhi*, i.e., *dhānu* (from \sqrt{dhan} 'to spread, to stretch') is equal to *bhūmi*, the expansive earth. The adnominal *ādhi* is used with the abl. to express the sense of 'from', etc. and *dhānor ādhi* in the Agni context can most naturally mean 'from out of the earth' (i.e., the Vēdi) and from there Agni goes up in the air i.e. to the *pravātaḥ* (acc. plu.), the high regions which is most natural. Here, *ā ṛṇvati* (Agni comes to the *pravātaḥ*) need not disturb the interpretation proposed because in that case Agni is described as coming to the *pravātaḥ*. It is even possible to take *pravātaḥ* as abl. sg. going with *dhānoḥ*; the meaning then would be that from the *pravāt dhānu* i.e. the expansive earth, Agni comes up. This is how Prof. Velankar construes it (cf. JVB. Sept. 1948, p. 11, note on 8-33-4) i.e., in the direction of the speaker, the *hotā*. These considerations would show that Agni's coming out of *dhānu* or waters (as Pischel would have it) appears to be a sudden change to an atmosphere which is not at all warranted by the general tenor of the passages under consideration. In the first *pāda* of the *ṛc* 1. 144. 5 a, it is already stated that the ten hymns and the ten fingers have urged Agni onwards and in that light *dhānu* (as in 10. 4. 3 and 75. 2, just now discussed) can only mean 'the earth' from which Agni comes to the *pravātaḥ*, the airy regions. The next *pāda*, *abhi vrājadbhir vayūnā nāvādhita* further supports this meaning by the statement that with the marching flames Agni has made new paths (*nāvā vayūnā*), which is Gld.'s interpretation (*ibid.* 33-202) also.

Out of the remaining passages, 7.37. 5 a—*sānilāsi pravāto dāśīṣe cit* presents no neighbouring circumstances useful for fixing the meaning. Pischel on the strength of parallel passages like 1. 100. 18; 3. 34. 8; 6. 73.3 and 9. 90. 4, where the verb *san* is connected with *āpaḥ* opines that here *pravāt*=rivers (cf. his translation of the passage: "Thou createst the rivers for the worshipful one"). A more detailed consideration of the parallel passages adduced by Pischel would show that they support the meaning 'rivers' or more prefer-

ably 'flowing waters.' The winning of waters is a feat special to Indra and 1. 100.18 and 3.34.8 actually refer to him, 6.73.3c refers to Brhaspati whose Indra-like role in the destruction of Vala (perhaps a slightly different variant of Vṛtra) and winning of light and waters would clearly show that this passage too has little bearing on an Agni context, the last passage, i.e., 9.90.4, which is surprisingly just a variant of 6.73.3c further supports the idea that *āpāh* with $\sqrt{\text{san}}$ is a special Indraite activity because, as is well-known, very often Indra's activity is attributed to Soma (numerous examples of which are known to the students of the Veda). Thus, in 7.37.5a, the meaning 'flowing waters' would be quite reasonable. There is, however, one difficulty: the winning of waters in the Indra-contexts discussed above is *never* mentioned by itself; it is usually accompanied with the winning of some other things like *gāh*, *svār*, *kṣētram*, etc., and the war-milieu is almost invariably suggested by the mention of *vājra*, the killing of Vṛtra, etc. In 7.37.5a, no such factor is present and some other meaning is not entirely excluded. The *pāda b* of the *ṛc*—*yābhīr vīveṣo haryaśva dhībhiḥ* appears to qualify the statement in 5a which is somewhat elliptical and to which some such word as *tābhiḥ* has to be supplied, with the translation—"Thou art the winner of *pravāts* for the worshipper on account of (these) prayers by which, O thou, possessed of bay steeds, becomest active."¹ Here *pravātaḥ* can mean 'profuse wealth'; cf. Sāy. *pravaṇasya dhanasya (dātā)*;² Grass: 581 wants the meaning 'quick progress', for *pravāt* for which he nowhere gives the meaning 'rivers'. All this only demonstrates that where *pravāt* occurs without any significant accompanying factor, the determining of the exact meaning is very difficult and one has to remain satisfied with a sort of approximate solution.

The remaining passages are easier. 4.22.4a: *utśvā ródhāmsi pravātaś ca pūrvāḥ* (*rejata*) occurs in an Indra-context, where every thing is described as trembling at the time of Indra's birth; *pravātaḥ* may refer to rivers. Further, *pūrvāḥ* stands for waters by itself in an Indra-context, viz., 7.21.3 as pointed out by Pischel (*ibid.* p. 65) and that would support the proposed interpretation of *pravāt* in 4.22.4a. Moreover, *ródhāmsi* and *pravātaḥ* may be in contrast as interpreted by Gld. and may refer to waters and dams (*ródhāmsi*, i.e., waters which are encircled by embankments) and *pravāt*, to 'the free flowing waters.' The same meaning would be applicable in 7.32.27: *tvāyā vayām pravātaś śāsvatīr apāh (tarāmasi)*, especially strengthened by the verb *tarāmasi*. By way of interest it may be noted that *śāsvatīrapāh*, according to Prof. Velankar (JUB: XIII, Sept. 1944, p. 25) constitutes an *atiśayokti*, whereby here 'dangers are meant'. He refers to 7.65.3d for a simile with the same *upamāna* (cf. *apā ná nāvā duritā tarema*). In the passage 7.50.4 *pravāt* along with *nivāt*, *udvāt* is an adj. of *nadyāḥ* and the meaning 'flowing' at once settles itself. One more passage, 9.54.2c—(*dhāvati*) . . . *saptā pravāta ā divam*, is a bit difficult. Here Soma's comparison with *sūrya* and the use of *ā divam* with *dhāvati* shows that Soma's ascent to heaven is intended. In that case, *saptā pravātaḥ* can refer to the seven high regions or spaces which Soma crosses in his ascent. The next *ṛc*, i.e., 3 also supports this by describing Soma standing above all worlds like the Sun. The last passage, viz., 10.58.6ab—*yāt te mārīciḥ pravāto māno jagdma dūrakām* is not much disputed. Even Pischel (*ibid.* p. 66) is forced to give up his derivation of *pravāt* from $\sqrt{\text{pru}}$ and takes *mārīciḥ pravātaḥ* to be "a loose comp." meaning

1. Or, 'destroyed Vṛtra'; cf. H. W. Bailey's discussion of the Khotanese 'biṣṭa', JRAS, 1953, p. 96 for the meaning of 'to deal with, to remove, to get rid of' for R̥gvedic $\sqrt{\text{veṣ}}$ which is a secondary development from the original 'to be active about.'

2. Here *gen.* is not allowed, because *sānitā* ends in the *ter. ṭṛ* (i.e., *ṭṛn*), which is never used with the *gen.*, cf. Pāṇ.

'streams of light.' For this meaning Pāṇ.'s rule is most suitable, because it is only a case supplying some *dhātvartha* to *prá*. In all the cases discussed so far, the form was always acc. plu., no other possibility being allowed by the context.

In this group, the occurrence *pravátām* (gen. plu.) and *pravátsu* (loc. plu.) can conveniently be discussed. The first occurs in 2. 13. 2 c: *samānó ádhvā pravátām anuśyáde*. The context is of waters in connection with Soma and the phrase *anuśyáde ádhvā* (path for streaming or trickling) clearly gives the meaning 'flowing waters'. In 10. 75.4: *yád āsām ágraṁ pravátam inakṣasi*, though otherwise difficult in some points, the word *pravátām* presents no difficulty regarding the meaning 'waters', as the context is the description of *śndhu*. The plu. *pravátsu* occurs in 6: 47. 4 c—*ayám pīyūṣam tistṣu pravátsu sómaḥ*. That *pravát* is used here in a general sense is not disputed by anybody. Pischel also agrees with Sāy. that the three *praváts* are the plants, the waters, and the cows; cf. Sāy. *ośadhīṣu*. . . *prakṣṣāsu etāsu* (*pravát* being derived according to Pāṇ. 5. 1. 118).

GROUP (c):—

6. *Pravátā*: instr. sg.

The next group of passages (about 12 in number) with *pravátā* as neu. or masc. inst. sing. is the easiest for our purpose. There the word appears to be an adjective, now turned into a substantive in the sense of a 'path', especially 'a steep' or 'ascending' path. GLd. also takes this group with the instr. as a self-sufficient one and gives the meaning "with the stream" or "away from the stream, towards or away from the valley or mountain" (in his mind the connection with a river or stream being most probably present). But such a narrowing of the sense is not necessary and we can take the word in a general sense. In this we are supported by the syntactical use of the instr. (cf. Macdonell: VG. for students, § 199. 4) in the RV., which gives a local sense of 'through' or 'over', when accompanied by verbs of motion to express the space through or over which the action extends. It is no accident that in seven out of the twelve passages, the instr. *pravátā* is connected with the verb *yā*; in four more passages, it is connected with a verb such as *i* or *śr* showing motion, whereas in one passage the word is connected with $\sqrt{\text{sumbh}}$ (cf. 3. 5. 8) and only in one isolated passage there is no verb where most probably any suitable form of $\sqrt{\text{yā}}$, etc., is to be added. Obviously, *pravátā* shows the space through or over which the action takes place. It, therefore, stands for a path or probably a slope on which quick motion, i.e., intensity of the *dhātvartha* of motion is possible. No doubt, in four passages, the waters are connected with it but that need not necessarily force us to refer it to the path of a river, and even in that case the sense of 'downward path or steep' quite fits the context. A consideration of the actual passages bears ample evidence for this. 1. 35. 3 a: *yāti devāḥ pravátā yāty udvátā* refers to the motion of Savitr, most probably in the heavenly regions. The words *pravát* and *udvát* occur, there together and should stand for the 'downward' and 'upward path'. Macdonell¹ translates it as follows: "The god goes by a downward path, he goes by an upward path," which is the best available meaning. GLd.'s translation (*ibid.* 33. p. 42): "The god goes forward, he goes upward" is somewhat objectionable because how can *pravátā* mean 'forward, ? Further, this translation creates the

1. Macdonell: Vedic Reader p. 30.

impression that *pravṛtā* is an adverb 'which is not allowed by the R̥gvedic evidence. No doubt, instr. such as *sáhasā* or *divā* etc. are adverbially used in the RV. and have later on become regular adverbs in classical Sanskrit, but in connection with Savitr whose ancient paths (*pánthāḥ pūrvyāsah*) are mentioned in the RV. (cf. RV. 1. 35. 11; VS. 34. 27 and Ts. 7. 5. 24. 1), the words like *pravṛt* with *udvṛt*, etc., should better refer to his 'paths.' In the next passage, viz., 1. 177. 3d, *hárībhyām yáḥ pravṛtōpa madrik* Indra is exhorted to come to the devotee by the *pravṛt* where we have naturally to add as substantive like path (cf. VM. II. 418: *pravān mārگاḥ pravaṇaḥ*) or chariot (cf. Sāy. : *pravatā vegavatā rathena*). Gld. (*ibid.* 33. 256. His actual words are "in vollem Laufe") translates it, "in full run" which in essence is in line with what we have suggested. In four passages (8. 6. 34; 13. 8; 9. 6. 4; 24. 2), the word occurs in an identical phrase *āpo ná pravṛtā* and obviously all the three should have the same meaning. Bloom. (Rep. p. 237 and 245) has convincingly demonstrated that out of all these repeated passages, 9. 24. 2 is the original. Everywhere *pravṛtā* = 'by a slope' eminently fits in. The passages 10. 4. 3 c and 75. 2 c are already discussed above and the presence of the verb *yāsi* along with *pravṛtā* leaves no doubt regarding the meaning 'by a steep path', etc. Similarly in 4. 38. 3 a : *yām sīm ānu pravṛteva drāvantaḥ*, the presence of *drāvantaḥ* showing 'motion', fixes the same meaning. The passage 1. 33. 6 d: *pravādbhir āndrāc citāyanta āyan* with the instr. plu. *pravādbhiḥ* is, indeed, difficult for various reasons, though many of the difficulties are removed by labours of successive Vedic scholars. The context is of the Navagvas, i.e., the Angirasas fighting against Vṛtra's armies, the latter as a result running away. Pischel here, i.e., in d takes the instr. *pravādbhiḥ* as showing comparison on the strength of his thesis already demonstrated in GGA. 1884 p. 513 that in RV. the instr. at times replaces the abl. for the sake of comparison. This topic clearly requires an independent discussion but for the present passage, even leaving that aside one can take the instr. in one of its normal senses, viz., of location or space. The first two lines of the stanza describe the fighting efforts of the Navagvas and the last two, its result, i.e., running away of the enemy—from Indra; *pāda c—vṛṣāyūdho ná vādhrayo nraṣṭāḥ* describes in a graphic simile how the followers of Vṛtra ran away like the castrated bulls being scattered by strong bulls. In d, therefore, *pravādbhiḥ āyan* can very easily mean "ran away with quick speeds"¹ (i.e. quickly); *citāyantaḥ*; then, can be taken in an ironical sense, viz., "thus distinguishing themselves (in fight)!" Pischel (*ibid.* p. 71) in effect gives the same sense but makes the thing complicated by his remark "Literally *pravādbhiḥ citāyantaḥ* signifies 'excelling themselves over the rivers', i.e., in quickness." The application of Pāṇ.'s rule so often referred to in this paper can directly give the sense 'speed' for *pravṛt*.²

GROUP (d) :—

7. *Pravṛt* in derivative words.

A consideration of the derivatives from *pravṛt* supports the above method of interpreting *pravṛt* in the light of Pāṇ. 5. 1. 118. The word *pravṛtvat* (frequently in the fem. form *pravṛtvatī*) occurs six times in RV; four times in 5. 54. 9; as voc. in 5. 84. 1 and as instr. plu. *pravṛtvatībhiḥ* in 8. 13. 17 b and

1. For *pravṛt* — 'speed'; cf. *Indro rāthāya pravṛtaṁ kṛṇoti*, discussed earlier.

2. Prof. Velankar (JUB. XVIII. Sept. 1948 p. 11) takes *pravādbhir āyan* = "come away over the slopes" and explains in the note that this means "ran down in great haste". He considers *pravṛtā + yā* as an independent phrase. As pointed out above, *pravṛtā* need not be taken in a secondary sense but can give the meaning directly.

finally as *pravātvān* in 1. 181. 3. In almost all these passages *pravātvat* is certainly more than mere *pravāt* and should be interpreted as 'possessing *pravāt*, i.e., speed or height', etc.; cf. Sāy.'s explanation of *pravātvatī* at 5. 54. 9 a: *vistīrṇāḥ pradeśāḥ yasyām sā*. In 5.84-1, *prthivī* is addressed as 'O *pravātvatī*.' Pischel renders this with 'quick earth',¹ In 5. 54. 9, *Prthivī*, *Dyaus*, *Pathyāḥ* and *Parvatāḥ* are qualified by the adj. *pravātvat*. Apparently a slight play on the word is meant. Pischel (*ibid.* p. 73) on the strength of the idea that the Maruts (who constitute the *devatā* of the hymn) in their movement make everything shake and tremble, translates the word with "quick or in quick movement," which is certainly acceptable in the light of the Pāṇinian derivation. In 1. 18. 1 a: *ā vām rātho. 'vānir nā pravātvān*, however, the word *pravātvān* instead of being interpreted as 'possessed of quick speed' (because it is difficult to hold that the Vedic people credited the Earth with any speed) can even mean 'full of expanse' (cf. Sāy.'s explanation: *bhūmir iva atyantam vistāravān*). Similarly, in *pravātvatībhīr ūtībhiḥ* (8. 13. 17 b) *pravātvatī* can mean 'profusely helping.' Prof. Velankar (JUB. XIV, Sept. 1945, p. 20) translates; "with his swift-moving favours". *pravāt*, as pointed out earlier, by itself can mean 'swift-moving' and something which is possessed of *pravāt* is here required though it may be difficult to imagine what it can be in each case. Finally, the comp. *pravād-yāmanā* going with *rāthena* in 1. 118. 3 clearly means 'having a speedy motion'. Thus, in all these derivative words or compounds it appears that the meaning 'speed' for *pravāt* was current in the Vedic language.

This analysis would further show that the word has a history within the range of the R̥gvedic language. It is natural to suppose that its simple occurrence in the nom.sing. and so on should be nearer the original meaning as laid down by Pāṇ. 5. 1. 118., whereas its use in the plu. may generally show a later stage where the meaning has evolved further and has got almost fixed, in the sense of 'rivers', 'flowing waters,' etc., though not in all cases.

8. Pische's method discussed; and conclusion.

Before we conclude, some remarks on Pischel's method in interpreting this word should be offered. Taking the clue from Lüdwig, he starts his investigation of *pravāt* with 10. 75. 4, where according to both these scholars the meaning of *pravātām* is the fundamental one and starting from that the other passages have to be interpreted (*ibid.* p. 64). No doubt, to search for a sort of fundamental meaning in an apparently uncontroversial context and then to fix the meaning in other passages is a sufficiently workable method and all the three volumes of the *Vedic Studien* are an excellent example of it. All the same, this method is likely to go wrong, if the particular fundamental passage chosen by a scholar proves somewhat doubtful and more particularly so if the real meaning of the word actually lies somewhere else as in the case of *pravāt*. Secondly, as pointed out earlier, regardless of accent, Pischel takes *pravāt* to be a pres. part. of $\sqrt{\text{pru}}$ (the later $\sqrt{\text{plu}}$) and actually denies the correct possibility by stating that *pravāt* has not the same etymological background as *nivāt* and *udvāt* (*ibid.* p. 68), further stating in addition that the Pp. dissolution of these words is influenced by wrong etymology! Finally, having once accepted 'river' as the central meaning of *pravāt*, true to his method, he tries naturally to discover the same or similar meaning in many other passages, though it must be said to his credit that in many

1. In this passage *Prthivī* is distinguished from *bhūmi* which creates a little complication which can here conveniently be left to itself.

cases he arrives at an approximately right meaning only considering it to be secondary. Of course, it is not Pischel's fault that he did not look to Pāṇ.'s rule 5. 1. 118; but it is hoped that the discussion of *pravāt* so far offered on the strength of that rule would convince a Vedic student that the rule gives an indisputable clue to arrive at the central idea of the word. That such formations by their very nature can go with any central *dhātvraha* is only one instance of the polysemic character of the Rgvedic language, which is very often the despair of the interpreter, who is further confronted by the incurable joy which the Vedic poets took in word-play !

ON THE RGVEDIC TEXT-CRITICISM

Fr. A. Esteller, S. J. , M.A., Dr. Phil. (Berl.)
Director, Heras Institute of Indian History & Culture,
St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

SUMMARY

I. THE NEW APPROACH AND SOME SPECIMENS OF IT.

1. Outline of the New Approach.
2. The specimens fully worked out
 - (a) V, 34, 3 in its full context : 1-5
 - (b) X, 14, 1, (Yama) in its full context (the *whole* hymn)
 - (c) VIII, 97, 14, a in its full context : 13-15
3. Conclusion: the Rgveda *can* be text-critically restored.

II. NOTES ON THE ABOVE SPECIMENS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

1. Notes to 2, a (V, 34, 3) and the problems involved
 - (a) Main text-critical principles
 - (b) The texts finalised text-critically : III, 47, 5; VII, 96, 3: 107, 3
 - (c) Remarks on V, 34, 1-5 and its lessons.
2. Notes to 2, b (X, 14) and the problems involved
 - (a) the redactor's dealings with the original metres.
 - (b) The particular case of "ena"
 - (c) Remarks on the text-critical reconstruction of X, 14— stanza by stanza, pāda by pāda (1-16)
 - (d) Results : text-critical gains, proof of our method
3. Notes on 2, c (VIII, 97, 13-15) and the problems involved
 - (a) The metrical corruption of the text: 13-15
 - (b) Remarks on its text-critical reconstruction
 - (c) Remarks on the adjoining trica: 10-12
 - (d) The rest of the hymn text-critically reconstructed
 - (e) Remarks on the rest and its problems

III. A PARALLEL TEXT AS CONFIRMATION

1. The parallel text (VII, 37) fully reconstructed
2. Remarks on its text-critical reconstruction
 - (a) Notes on 1-3
 - (b) The problems of 4-5 and their lessons

- (c) The problems of 6-7 and their lessons
 (d) The special problem of 8 and the Vasiṣṭhās' "signature-pāda"

IV. CONCLUSION : THE SAMHITĀ CODE DECIPHERED

I. THE NEW APPROACH AND SOME SPECIMENS OF IT

1. On several occasions (at the last session of this Congress and in two recent articles in "Indian Linguistics") this writer has been propounding and demonstrating a new approach that goes beyond the "lipi" of the Samhitā to the oral "śruti" (represented and distorted by it) which can lead us to the *real original* Ṛgveda of the ṛṣi-kavis. Living *oral* sounds, strict *rhythm* and verse-technique, linguistic-systematic restoration of archaisms (buried in the palimpsest-like Śākala-redaction) are the main factors in this approach.

2. This note wants to keep the ball rolling by further scholarly discussion of some of the cases dealt with in the previous essays, and some similar ones.

(a) In Vol. XVII of "Indian Linguistics" ("On Saṃskṛta 'kava' and related words") we reconstructed Ṛgv. V, 34, 3 "at least provisionally" trying to keep all the Samhitā elements. But a more thorough-going analysis discovers that there are other (and better) *possibilities* especially "āt" for "aha" (in b), which throw light upon the redactors' methods of distorting corrections.

Here is the *reconstructed* text with its full context from the beginning:

V, 34

- | | | |
|---|---|------|
| 1. (a) ! suvarvatī a-jātaśatrum ājarā | × | ā |
| (b) anu svadhām amitā dasmam iyatai | = | ai |
| (c) <i>sunutana</i> pacata brahmavāhasai | = | ai |
| (d) puruṣtutāya prataraṃ <i>dadhāta ā</i> | + | ā |
| 2. (a) ! saumaina <i>saḥ ā</i> jaṭharām <i>apipra (!) yat</i> | + | at |
| (b) amandata maghavā madhvaḥ amdhasaḥ | = | aḥ |
| (c) mṛgāya im hantavay <i>āt</i> mahāvadhah | = | aḥ |
| (d) sahasrabhṛṣṭim uśanāḥ vadham yamat | = | at |
| 3. (a) ghraṃsai yaḥ asmāi uta vā yaḥ ūdhani | = | i |
| (b) saumaṃ sunauti bhavati + <i>im</i> dyumān aat | + | at |
| (c) ! śakras <i>taṃ aḥ</i> tatanuṣṭim ūhati | = | i |
| (d) tanūsubhraṃ maghava + <i>im</i> yaḥ kavāsakhaḥ | = | aḥ |
| 4. (a) yasya + <i>im</i> vadhiḥ pitaraṃ yasya mātraṃ | = | aṃ |
| (b) śakraḥ yasya bhrātaraṃ na + iṣatay atah | = | aḥ |
| (c) ! vaiti + <i>im</i> yatam-karaḥ asya prayataa | × | a |
| (d) na kilbiṣāt iṣatai vasvaḥ ākaraḥ | = | aḥ |
| 5. (a) na + <i>im</i> pañcabhiḥ daśabhiḥ vaṣṭi ā-rabham | = | aṃ |
| (b) na + asunvatā sacatai puṣyatā ca na | = | a |
| (c) ! jināti im vā dhuniḥ hanti vā + amuyā | × | ā |
| (d) ā daivayum bhajati + <i>im</i> gaumati vrajai | = | (a)i |

N. B. The above transcription dissolves all *saṃdhis* and the diphthongs *e*, *o* (*ai*, *au*), and *underlines* all the emendated words. An exclamation mark (!) after the letter designing the pāda (like a) !, for instance) means that there are in it other changes—in the word-order, in omission of redactor's "pūraṇas", etc.—which will be found by comparison with the *Samhitā* text, to which we refer the reader. At the end of each pāda the last *akṣara* (the last *vowel plus* the following consonant, *if any*) is shown with the sign = (if it is the *same* as in the *Samhitā* text), or × (if it is due to a *change* in word-order) or + (if it is due to our *emendation*). The purpose is to show how the *rhyme* was used by the ṛṣi-kavis—a discovery upon which the author will come back elsewhere. The sign *ṽ* over a vowel means that it is short by nature but *rhythmically lengthened*, as being between two other short syllables ("Dehnungsgesetz" !) Accents are taken for granted. For further explanations cfr. the notes further down.

(b) In Vol. XVIII ("Indian Linguistics") we reconstructed the beginning of the Yama hymn X, 14, and in connection with 2d ("enā j(a)nānāḥ pathiyāḥ anu *svaah*") we discovered, among other things, a new verbal form of "jan". We also showed the liberties which the redactors took with the metre and rhythm and the position of the words in the verses. (If we call the redactorial agency "*Samhitā-kāra*", we can refer to it as *SK* for short).

Again, a more thorough-going use of this new method (confirmed by an overwhelming mass of materials now in course of preparation for publication) allows us to go deeper and to come more definitely and surely closer to the original of the ṛṣi-kavis than our (intentionally) "provisional reconstruction" could then afford to show. And, since this hymn is such an outstandingly interesting and well-known one, we shall give here its reconstruction in full—as a full-size specimen for the rumination of Vedic scholars and specialists. The full justification of all its details we shall give in our forthcoming work. For some brief remarks cfr. further down.

X, 14

I. A.

- | | | |
|--------|---|-----------|
| 1, (a) | parā + iyivāmsam mahiiḥ <i>parāvataḥ</i> (!) | × aḥ (12) |
| (b) | panthām anu (!) <i>bahubhiḥ</i> paśpaśānam (!) | = am |
| (c) | vāivasvataṃ saṃgamanam janānaam | = am (12) |
| (d) | yamaṃ <i>raajam</i> haviṣā duvasyā | + ā |
| 2, (a) | gātum yamaḥ <i>yam</i> prathamah vivaida naḥ (!) | × aḥ (12) |
| (b) | na bhartavai apa gavyūtiḥ aiśā | × ā |
| (c) | parā iyuḥ pitarah yatra pūrvai (!) | × ai |
| (d) | ainā (!) <i>j(a)nānāḥ</i> pathiyāḥ anu <i>svaah</i> | = aḥ (12) |
| 3, (a) | yamaḥ kavyāiḥ mātaliśvā + aṅgirobhiḥ (!?) | = iḥ |
| (b) | br̥haspatiḥ vā-vṛdhaānaḥ ṛkvabhiḥ | × iḥ (12) |
| (c) | daivāḥ ca daivān ca vāvṛdhuḥ yai | × ai |
| (d) | anyai madanti svāhaa svadhā + aniyai | × ai (12) |

I. B.

- | | | |
|----------|---|----------|
| 4, ! (b) | <i>virūpaaiḥ</i> saṃ-vidānaḥ pitṛbhiḥ (?) | × iḥ |
| ! (a) | imaṃ yama prastaram ā siida nu (!) | + u (12) |

- (c) ā tvā mantrāḥ kaviśastāḥ vahantu u =u(12)
 (d) ainā rājan haviṣā mādayasva =a
- 5, (a) ā aṅgirobhiḥ gahi iha yajñiyāiḥ =aiḥ(12)
 (b) āt mādayasva yama saṃ virūpaaiḥ (!?) ×aiḥ(12)
 (c) vivasvantam tam huvai yaḥ pitā tai (!) =ai
 (d) asmin yajñai barhiṣi ā niśadya =a
- 6, (a) daśagvaah (!?) naḥ pitarah navagvaah =ah(12)
 (b) atharvāṇaḥ bhr̥gavaḥ saumi yaḥ yai (!) +ai
 (c) taiśāṃ vyaṃ sumatāu yajñiyānaar̥ =am(12)
 (d) bhadrai api sāumanasai syāāma =a

II. A.

- 7, (b) ! pūrvai parā iyyuḥ yatra pītaraḥ (!) ×ah(12)
 (a) ! pra atra tvaṃ pathibhiḥ purviyāiḥ ihi (!?) ×i(12)
 (d) ! paśyāsi yāmaṃ varuṇam ca daivam =am
 (c) ! rājānaa + ubhā svadhaā madantā =ā
- 8, (a) ! saṃ gacchasva pitrbhiḥ saṃ yamaina ca (!) =a(12)
 (b) iṣtā-pūrtai naḥ (!) paramai viyaumani (!) +i(12)
 (d) ! saṃ gacchasva āt tanuvā suvarcasā (!) +ā(12)
 (c) ! hitvā + iṃ avadyam mā + astam ā punaḥ gaah (!!) =ah(12)
- 9, (a) ! apa + ita vi + ita sarpata + atah āpa ×a
 (b) ! pitarah aitam laukam asmaai k(a)ran =am(12)
 (c) ! ahobhiḥ adbhīḥ aktubhiḥ vi-aktam =am
 (d) ! ! dadāti āva-sānam asmaai yamaḥ ×ah(12)

II. B.

- 10, (a) ati drava sāramaiyāu śuvānā =ā
 (b) (k) turakṣaau śabalāu sādhunā pathā (!) =ā(12)
 (c) athā upa suvidatrān pitr̥ ihi =i(12)
 (d) yamaina yai sadhamādam madanti =i
- 11, (b) (k) turakṣaau pathirakṣi nṛcakṣasā =ā(12)
 (a) yāu tai śuvānāu yama rakṣotārāu =āu
 (c) rājan ainam dhairi tābhyaam pari (!) ×i(12)
 (d) ! suvastī asmāi daihi (?) ca + anamīvam (!) ×am
- 12, (a) asū-trpā- + uru-nasaau udumbalāu =āu(12)
 (b) yamasya dūtāu carataḥ anū janam ×am(12)
 (c) tāu asmabhya dṛśayai sūriyāya =a
 (d) punaḥ dātām asum adya + iha bhadram =am

III.

- 13, (a) saumam yamāya śnuta =a
 (b) haviḥ yamāya jūhuta ×a
 (d) agnidūtaḥ kṛtāḥ aram ×am
 (c) yaḥ (!) yajñah, gacchati + iṃ yamam (!) ×am
- 14, (a) haviḥ yamāya ghṛtavat ×at

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-----|
| (b) | <i>juhuta</i> pra ca tiṣṭhata | =a |
| (c) | sa naḥ daivaiṣu ā yamat | =at |
| (d) | dirgham āyu(ḥ) pra jīvasai | =ai |
- 15, (a) havyaṃ yamāya mādhumat (!) +at
 (b) *ajū hutā na* rāj(a)nai (?!) ×ai
 (c) idaṃ pūrvaibhiyaḥ namaḥ (!!) ×aḥ
 (d) ṛṣibhyaḥ pathikṛdbhiyaḥ =aḥ

IV.

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|
| 16, (a) | trikadrukaiṣu + ut patat tyat | = +at (T.) |
| (b) | ṣaṭ urviḥ aikam it brhat | =at |
| (c) | chamḍāmsi gāyatrīyām ā (!) | =ā (T.) |
| (d) | yamay ā sarvatāt hitā | =ā |

(c) A further confirmation of all this is given by the *one* Rgv. example which Wackernagel-Debrunner (III, p. 523) quote as a case where *enclitic* "enāḥ" is supposed to be used *adjectivally*: VIII, 97 (86), 14a. But that is purely *redactorial* meddling and muddling. The redactor *would* have coolly changed both the position and syntactical connection (though he actually did *not*, possibly at least, as we shall see). He has also completely corrupted the original (perfectly versified) pādas of the ṛṣi-kavi, (both in this and in the adjoining stanzas, which are in *mixed* triṣṭubh + jagatī) by interpolating *eight* full words intended to make the stanzas somehow "regular" by the *number* of akṣaras: 13! (4×13!), 14 (=44=2×11+2×11), 15 (=46=2×12+2×11)—just like that! The words are either just borrowed from the *neighbouring* context ("vajrin, vajrī, ugra, indra"—this last repeated in the *same* stanza!) or are common=place epithets in Indra hymns ("śakra, yajñīya" and "bhūri") or are suggested by the context ("rājan", cfr. verse 10b). Here is the context.

VIII. 97

- | | | |
|----------|---------------------------------------|---------|
| 13, (a)! | taṃ jauhavīmi maghavānam indaram | =am(12) |
| (b)! | śavaḥ dadhānam satra apratiṣkutam | =am(12) |
| (c)! | maṃhiṣṭhaḥ ca ā + im giṛbhiḥ vavartat | =at |
| (d)! | rāyai viśvā supathā naḥ kṛṇavat | +at |
- | | | |
|----------|--|--------|
| 14, (a)! | tvaṃ puraḥ indara cīkit aujasā | =ā(12) |
| (b)! | śaviṣṭha aināḥ nāśayadhyāai vi | =i |
| (c)! | tuvat u varjin bhuvanāni viśvā | ×ā |
| (d)! | raijantay im dyāuḥ pṛthivī cā (!) bhīṣaa | =a(12) |
- | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|--------|
| 15, (a) | paātu śūra citra tāṭ ṛtaṃ mā | ×ā |
| (b) | apāḥ iva duritā parṣi nāḥ (!) ati | =i(12) |
| (c) | kadā daśasyaiḥ rāyay ā naḥ (!) indara | ×a(12) |
| (d) | viśvapniyāya sprhayāyiyāya | ×a |

3. Of such stuff is the *whole* Saṃhitā made, as woefully *misrepresented* in the traditional redacted text of the Śākala school. It *must* be restored to its pristine purity for the honour of the ṛṣi-kavis. It *can* be. And *this* is the method, *if* applied thoroughly, systematically and scientifically. The results for the Rgveda text-criticism are of the most far-reaching kind, as shown by the examples referred to above—which are yet of *relatively*

minor importance compared with others already obtained and now being prepared for publication. For further telling examples *cfr.* further down.

II. NOTES ON THE ABOVE SPECIMENS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

1. NOTES TO 2 (a) and the problems involved.

(a) The chief lessons to be drawn from this our study of “kava” compounds are : *first* the importance of considering the vedic texts as representing “śruti”—that is, living sounds and habits of speech (kāpuruṣa: ka(v)apuruṣa). *Second*, the importance of *strictly kept rhythm* and of the *law of rhythmical lengthening* (of all shorts between two other shorts !), especially as applied to “kavāsakhaḥ !: kavāriḥ: akāvāriḥ”. As to the reconstructions proposed there, we can improve them further as already partly suggested there:

(b) The texts finalised text-critically.

III, 47, 5 (a)	marutavantam vṛṣabham vāvrdhānam	=am(12)
(b)	śāsam diviyam akavārim indaram	=am(12)
(c)	viśvāsāham avasai nūtanāya	=a
(d)	sahaḥ-daam iha ugram huvaima	=a

It is obvious that this reconstruction must be the real one, because it *fully* explains how the redactor came to his false “akavāri”. It was merely a petrified rhythmical length accepted by him under the influence of our “kavāsakhaḥ” (which is a *legitimate permanent* rhythmical lengthening, as permanently being between shorts !). And since this is the *first occurrence in the Saṃhitā*, the redactor, as *usual*, made it the basis of his procrustean “analogy” throughout, both for “kavāri” and “akavāri”. Thus:

VII, 96, 3 (a)	bhadram bhadra kṛṇavat tat sarasvatī	=ī
(b)	akāvāriḥ caitat im vājīnīvatī	=ī
(c)	grṇānā jamadagnivat	=at
(d)	stuvānā ca vasiṣṭhivat	=at

For the justification of the changes in *b* refer to our article (*cfr.* above). In *a* this improved reconstruction explains everything more in consonance with the *śruti*-nature of the original: it is one of the innumerable haplogies occurring in the Saṃhitā.

X, 107, 3 (a)	daivī pūrtiḥ dakṣiṇā daiva-yajyaa	=a(12)
(b)	na kavāribhyaḥ na hi tai pṛṇanti	=ī
(c)	yay aprayāta-dakṣiṇā athā naraḥ	aḥ(12)
(d)	pṛṇanti a-vadyabhiyā bhahāvāḥ	aḥ

Besides the remarks we made in our previous article, it will be obvious that the redactor *had* to change *c* exactly as he did, so as to avoid both the jagatī and the, for him, impossible *yati* (inside of the compound !). Besides the “ye” would have disappeared by haplogy, in the reciters’ mouth (“pṛṇanti(y)a(y)apra : to apra”) as near as made no difference for the redactors’ jagatī-guillotine.

(c) As regards the full reconstruction of our “kavāsakhaḥ” context in V, 34, 1-5 above, we remark briefly: in *rd* it is evident that the redactor

could not make a jagatī the restituted materials, all the less since the reciters *must* have “swallowed” “ā” in “dadhātā”. And note, once for all, how the *wrongly-strong* forms like “sunotana” are a redactorial subterfuge to get a needed *long* syllable, *after* the loss of the sense for the rhythmical lengthening! They are an imitation based on the (*false*!) analogy with the forms like “gantana” where the persistence of the echo of the original m-vowel is a phenomenon of (possibly!) *ancient* analogy over “hanyāḥ, hanvaḥ” hence “hanmaḥ (hanta?)” vs. the undisturbed “hatá” (past part.). But since, even in “gam” and “han” we have also the legitimate and correctly accented “hatá, gatá” and even “gantá” (as second p. plural!) it is most likely that even those forms in those (n. m) roots are only *redactorial-analogical*. (Cfr. Wackern. I, p. 10). Further, in 2a, we find the *impossible* “apiprata” (3rd. p. s. ātm.!) for either a completely misunderstood “apipra+yat” (as if “apiprayat”?) or a wilfully “corrected”=away *archaic* form (whose rediscovery in the R̥gveda, we claim and justify elsewhere): “apipra”—like the “aduha, aiśa” of the MS! The redactor’s misanalysis “hantavay āt: hantave yat” is typical. But what a difference our reconstructed text makes!—In 3b the “aha” of the redactor is this *usual* trick to get the *two* syllables *he* needs and cannot get out of the original “āt (=aat” for the ṛṣi-kavis!)—In 3c the redactor has *suppressed* “tam” for one of his trick repetition-fillers, because he has misunderstood it as referring *backward* to a b (which *would* be arrant nonsense!) while the ṛṣi-kavi has meant it to refer *forward* to “yaḥ kavāsakhāḥ”! The *very frequently* “swallowed” accentless “im” make the muddled meaning clear for c+d: “The mighty, generous one (Indra) rejects him, the one shining in his body, the “tatanusti” (?) *the one* who (“im yaḥ”) is a mean friend”. Note that “kavāsakhāḥ” is a karmadh. with the correct accent. And this made our redactor give the *same* (karmadh.) accent to *his* misunderstood “kavari” (as if—“kava+ari”!)—instead of the *bahuvr.* one of its real *antonymous* “brhād-ri”. (*Pseudo-analogy in excelsis*, as usual!)—In 5c there is a possible alternative: “jināti vā saḥ”, but it does not seem to explain so well the redactors’ changes. The rest explains itself, especially in the light of the above-mentioned articles.

It will, we think, be considered desirable to have the *full text* of this hymn as reconstructed by our new method. The remaining four stanzas are as follows:

- | | | |
|--------|--|-----|
| 6, (a) | vicakṣaṇaḥ cakram-āsāj ca sāmṛtā (!) | +ā |
| (b) | asunvataḥ viṣuṇaḥ sunvataḥ vṛdhai (!) | +ai |
| (c) | viśvasya indraḥ damitā vibhīṣaṇaḥ | =aḥ |
| (d) | yathāvaśaṃ nayati+im dāsam āriyaḥ | =aḥ |
| 7, (a) | sam im (!) panaiḥ bhaujanam ājati muṣai | =ai |
| (b) | bhajāti vi daśuṣai sūnaraṃ vasu | =u |
| (c) | durgai cana dhṛiyatai viśvaḥ ā puru | =u |
| (d) | acukrudhat taviṣim asya yaḥ janaḥ | ×aḥ |
| 8, (a) | saṃ yat janā(u) sudhanā(u) viśvaśardhasā | +ā |
| (b) | (!)vaida+indaraḥ śubhriṣu gauṣu māghavā | ×ā |
| (c) | yujam hi anyam ak(a)ra (!?) pravaipaniḥ | +iḥ |
| (d) | srjātay im gavyam ut satvabhiḥ dhuniḥ | =iḥ |
| 9, (b) | aryaḥ kaitum upamaṃ (!) śatrim agnai | ×ai |
| (a) | saḥasrasām agnivaṣim gr̥ṇisai | =ai |

- (c) tasmāy āpaḥ saṃyataḥ pīpayanta su (!) +u
 (d) tasmīn kṣatram amavat tvaiṣam astu =u

In 6a the *h.r.* “cakram-āsāj ca” had to be remade by the SK, else he could get no jagatī! In 6b he changes the dative “vṛdhai” to make it parallel to “viṣuṇaḥ” (analogy, as usual!). In 8b it is obvious how the reciters could mislead the SK: “viśvaśardhasāvedaindaraḥ” into analysing “avet”, all the more since he needs the extra syllable, not the ṛṣi-kavi (as shown above). In 8c the *archaic*, “ak(a)ra”, corresponding to “ak(a)ri” (*vs.* the SK’s “akṛta” modelled on “akṛthāḥ”) is indicated. The pāda-order *ab* has been put by the redactor for clarity’s sake. For “upamam” cfr. VII, 30, 3 : “upamām” is an SK’s *misanlysis*! The *final* (mixed metre!) stanza has been reduced to triṣṭubh by the SK because *abd* seemed to him to demand it. Hence “su” in 9c is guillotined away.

2. NOTES to 2 (b) and the problems involved.

(a) Besides the conclusions pointed out in that article there is one point that deserves special stress, and that is the fact that the Samhitā-redactor proceeded systematically to render “uniform” in metre the many hymns in the Ṛgveda which are systematically composed in *mixed triṣṭubh+jagatī* in various but consistent *pair-combinations*. This was obviously due to the fact that many pāda-ends of the jagatī type were only made iambic *if*, both, vowel-resolutions and rhythmical lengthening were observed, but they remained *trochaic-triṣṭubh-like*, if that was *not* done. Hence came the appearance of irregularity and the redactorial effort to “regularise” the metre by reshufflings and even word-suppressions (or termination-clippings *a la* “tanuvā suvarcāḥ” for “suvarcasā” in X, 14, 8d). This procrustean method has maimed an enormous number of pādas, as we indicated in speaking of X, 14. We shall find the same confirmed further down.

(b) Let us note further that the case of the *pronominal anaphoric* “ena-” is exemplified in X, 14, 2d above as adhering to the rule that it is enclitic and accentless (when *not* adjectival) except when it is at the beginning of a pāda. This is shown in the Samhitā as applying regularly to “enā” *instrum.* and to the *one* case so placed of “enām”, (fem. acc. sing.). But this *adjectival accented* “enā” is considered as belonging to the paradigm of “āyam”.

(c) We now proceed to give some brief notes on the fully reconstructed text of X, 14, as given above.

In 1a the redactor cannot get his triṣṭubh—hence (*para-logically*!) all the changes. Mark “anu” cheaply borrowed from b and 2d. No kavi would do that in two *consecutive* pādas. And see the twists to get out of “.. mahīr anu panthām anu”! Note the *subj.* “duvayā”—misunderstood, as often, by the SK and Pp. *Result*: a complete murdering of the sense intended by the kavi: “To the one who went to the mighty distance along a path that *had been looked for* (espied) by many”—the raciness and cleanness of idiom and syle! All smashed under the hoofs of our “bull in a china shop” of a well-intentioned but blundering redactor. The pity of it! Mark the immense improvement that this *all-out* reconstruction (based on “mountainous” materials now being prepared for publication) means over our previous, intentionally provisional, indications. The

same can be applied to 2, as compared with our proposals in the above article. Notice only that the improvements are in the *logical* line of the *same* method and principles—only more so!

In 3a we have proposed the emendation “mātalīśva” as the (eastern) “double” form of “matarīśva”. The rhythm *demand*s the restituted arrangement: “yamaḥ kavyāiḥ, mātalī(śvā)+aṅgirobhiḥ”. That the *kavya*-pitṛs go with Yama is to be expected—as is also that the Aṅgiras should accompany Matarīśvan as either the (wind?) bringer of the fire or identical with Agni (cfr. Macdonell, “Ved. Myth.”, p. 142-143, and p. 71-72). On the other hand, the position in the pāda as restituted and as absolutely demanded by the rhythm is such that it fully explains the origin of the change into the shortened form. The *eastern* form *would* tend to dissociate the word from “Mātarīśvā” in the *western*-speaking transmitters (which obviously form the main authoritative stream of those to whom we owe the Ṛgveda)—hence would make easy (in *those* phonetic surroundings:—*īśv*) a mispronunciation: “matalīśvaṅgirobhiḥ”, which the redactor obviously could misanalyse (misled by the *analogy* of declensional locatives in-*īsu* !) as if it were “Mātalīśu aṅgirobhiḥ”. But the obvious parallelism of the other deities *would* make him think that the reciters must have made a mistake for “mātalī *śva*-aṅgirobhiḥ”. To avoid that confusion he both reshuffles the words and suppresses the *śva* (which makes the triṣṭubh impossible !) for, if he wants to avoid that confusion but drops the *śva* only, he will lose one needed syllable through the resulting saṃdhi. But in shifting “mātalī” he also changes the *accent*, because so many of the *ī*-nouns (like “devī” and more especially those of the “vr̥kī” type) are *feminine* and have the accent on the *ī*. Here he is likely to have been helped by surmisable *popular form* “mātalī” which, on the one hand, avoided the *length* of the full name, (esp. in the strong cases, like the accusative) and (as taboo?) the suspiciously sounding *śvā* (for a popular “etymology” !) and, on the other, did *not* follow the vedic-literary accent but the more popular and, later, *general* (semi-quantitative, semi-stress) way of pronouncing “mātalī”. (Something like the stage to which the equally redactorial-popular “praūga,” titaū belong). With all those convergent pointers there is a very strong case for the restitution of “Mātalīśvā”. Even the quantity of the *ī* may be more fully explained if the etymology is “mātarīśvan” (cfr. Burrow, p. 41). And then it is not surprising that such a form should have found ready literary-poetic acceptance (for easy handling in verse) in both vedic and post-vedic works, and that the connection with “Mātarīśvān” (as wind or fire-carrier) was lost *explicitly* yet kept implicitly in the role of Indra’s swift charioteer (in agreement with Vāyu’s special connection with Indra in chariot-driving). I find that Charpentier had also proposed Mātalī as short for Mātarīśvan (cfr. Wackernagel II, 2, p. 407), though I do not know on what grounds. But the above seems to be the solution of that mysterious and sudden emergency of an unknown quantity in the vedic and post-vedic pantheon.

Coming back to our 14, 3, in 3c we propose a reconstruction which *drops* the idea of *mutual* fostering by gods and devotees “daivāś ca daivān ca vaāvrdhuḥ yai”—in perfect agreement with the obvious sense of the *immediately* preceding 3b. The Samhitā text is “filled up” by the SK, who cannot get his triṣṭubh otherwise ! In 4ab the redactor has used one of his favourite tricks: the reshuffling of the pāda-order so as to have the *name* of the deity in the *first* pāda, if at all possible—“for clarity’s sake”. But the three stanzas of this tṛca could seem intended to begin with some

form of “aṅgira” (cfr. 5a, 6a !). We would then *have to* submit to the demands of the metre and substitute a (hypothetical !) “āṅgira” for “aṅgiras”. This can be built (on the same principle of “vāirūpa” in 5b !) from “aṅgira”- (cfr. III, 51, 4c; I, 83, 4a !). Yet we hold as practically certain that the redactor has here *partly* substituted a different original name—which may be “daśagva”—in this *trca* (4a, 5a, 6a), especially because of the indication of 6a, which seems to be crying for it: “daśagvaḥ naḥ pitaraḥ navagraḥ”. But it is also likely that the substituted name was “virūpa”, used by the ṛṣi-kavi, for variety’s sake, alternately—as equivalent to “descendants of Aṅgiras” (according to X, 62, 5+6: “tai aṅgirasas sūnavaḥ”, etc.) Hence the pādas concerned—as the metre *demands*—were really originally:

- 4, (b) *virūpaaiḥ samvidānāḥ pitṛbhis*
- 5, (a) *ā aṅgirobhiḥ gahi iha yajñīyāiḥ*
(b) *āt mādayasva yama sam virūpaaiḥ*
- 6, (a) *daśagbvaah (!) naḥ pitaraḥ navagvaah*

It is obvious that the name (which *for the redactor’s own* speech had the connotation of “*vi=vinā rūpeṇa*” !) would be “improved” upon redactorially by the SK, especially because of the demands of his metre, which in *all* those cases was utterly at fault in the number of syllables ! (“*vairūpāiḥ*” in 5b is redactorial : “metric causa” !).

In 4a we have the typical redactor’s filler: the “hi”-*pūraṇa* that gives no accent to the verb ! Invariably it is *everywhere* spurious. Here it stands for the *one* word that meant for the kavi the transition from 1—3 to the appeal in 4—6: “nu”. The redactor (for whom “nu” is a mere “*puraṇa*” practically !) puts “hi” instead, so as to avoid “ānuśīda” (sounding like “anu+sīda” or “ā+anu+sīda”). In 4c he suppresses the emphatic *u* to get his *triṣṭubh*—obvious !

In 5c he could not get his *triṣṭubh* with the ṛṣi-kavi’s natural idiomatic construction. So we get a 10 syllable *triṣṭubh* ! (Shades of the ṛṣi-kavis !) But how racy the *real* original is, it is enough to look at it to see it. The haplogy that has “swallowed” the “*tam*” of the natural “*vivasvantam tam yah*” is typical of the *śruti*-nature of our original text-behind-the-Saṃhitā-palimpsest”.

In 6b it is typical of the redactor that the eschews the idiomatic “*saumiyā(h) ye*” because of possible confusion (“*saumiyā yai*”) and puts his *double* termination “*saumiyās-as*” and thereby makes it almost look as if it applied only to “*bhrgavaḥ*.”

In 7a is the queer repetition “*prehi prehi*” *without āmreḍita*-accent, to which Oldenberg calls attention. It is just a filler, put in because the redactor cannot get his *triṣṭubh* which is also the reason why he, while repeating” *pareyuh*” (cfr. 2c !) instead of “*parā iyuḥ*” in *b*, has to add the *unnecessary* “*naḥ*”, as in 2c (from 6a !). And he has probably misjudged “*atra*” as misleading (=here ?)—but cfr. 1, I54, 6. That makes him *need* an extra “*prehi*” which by its emphatic repetition, forces him to reshuffle the pādas to put it at the head of the sentence ! But the restored text speaks for itself loudly enough. The same goes, only more so, for *c+d*. Note the variation of 7b vs. for the sake of rhythm and rhyme.

Stanza 8 is a most interesting one for many reasons, but especially because of its rhythm: it is a pure jagatī stanza (in the *centre* of the 3rd *ṛca*) between two others which are in *mixed* triṣṭubh-jagatī. It marks the *end* of the address to the dead one in *this* ṛca, the next stanza addressing the by-standers. Hence the change of metre. The Saṃhitā-kāra has guillotined away three jagatīs, precisely because he has been doing that systematically throughout the hymn (giving in only in impossible cases, as we shall see further down) to “regularise its metre. Here he easily suppresses “*ca*” in the first pāda, cuts “*viyomani*” into “*viyauman*” in the second, and (by a typical pseudoanalogy) “*suvarcasā*” into “*suvarcās*” (!) in the fourth. He is strengthened in his “editing” by the fact that the third pāda looks like a triṣṭubh ending in “*a punaḥ gāḥ*” to *his* ears (vs. the kavi’s “*ā punaḥ gaḥ*”). He has also changed the *pāda-order* in *cd*, so as to have an apotheotic finale—while the sense shows that the kavi has intended pāda-*d* to be climax of *a+b*, with the real final prayer: “reach the summit of glory (*d*), and then do *not* come back to this miserable world” (*c*). The rhyme-scheme confirms it quite decisively.

In 8*b* we find a gold-nugget, lost in the *Śruti*-recitation by the natural-*est* of haplogogues “*iṣṭapūrtai nāḥ*” which pricks the bubble of a *singular* dvandva in such an outstandingly typical dual one.

Of course, “*naḥ*” from “*naś*” in the aor. injunctive ! (cfr. Grassmann). And *that* reconstruction is absolutely *demanded* by the metre. That *alone* would prove the rightness of our method and discoveries. Much more so, in conjunction with that absurdest of redactorial pseudo-analogies: “*tanuvā suvarśāḥ*” (paralleled by “*paramai viyauman*” for “*viyaumani*”), guillotining a jagatī and making fools of the ṛṣi-kavis—and of all vedic scholarship. (“*risum teneatis*” ?). Much more so still, with that incredible “*hitvāya*” and that unsurpassable misanalysis of a reciter’s haplogogy that makes the ṛṣi-kavi request (“*horresco referens*” !) the ghost of the dead to *come* back to his house ! The ṛṣikavi simply could *not* say *that*—as a mere look at X, 18 will show, and as anyone can feel who knows the “*Weltanschauung*” represented by it. He *did* say “*hitvā im(āstam) avadyam*” (depreciatingly, to convince the dead one) “*mā punaḥ astam garaḥ*”, but once the redactor had misanalysed the haplogogy, “*avadya(m)māstam*” as “*avadyam astam*” (“*avadyam ā+stam*” ?) he *had* to change “*gamaḥ*” into “*ihi*” to get *his* triṣṭubh and his *clear* sense (vs. “*ā+a—gāḥ*” !)—obvious ! This stanza alone proves the rightness of our whole system and discoveries—and shows how much we can get text-critically out of this our glorious (but ungloriously defaced) palimpsest of a Saṃhitā, and how infinitely superior to it is the *real* Ṛgveda of the ṛṣi-kavis that we *can thus* (and thus *alone* !) restore to its pristine glory. “*jayanti, jayanti maharṣayah, mahākavayah* !” But how woefully corrupt is the Saṃhitā-text, and how distorted !

The next ṛca contains several outstanding and irrefragable proofs of the truth of the use made the ṛṣi-kavis of “*ardhasamavṛtta*”: 10*b*, 11*a*, 12*a*, 12*b* —*all* jagatīs and *all* fitting into the pattern discovered by us. Besides there is the other gold-nugget of “(*k*)*tur*-akṣāu” (in 10*b*, 11*b*) the counterpart of the isolated “(*k*)*tur*-iṃya”—*clarified* if you please, (murdering the rhythm) by the redactor ! It is a most valuable discovery to show the *archaic* stage to which the real Ṛgveda belongs—and the enormous gap that separates it from the time of the Saṃhitā-redactor. And, again, that restitution is absolutely *demanded* by the metre !

In 11 $c+d$ we have a mistaken use (by the blundering redactor) of “dhehi: dehi”, since pāda c demands “pari dhehi” (=protect with the two dogs) and pāda d “daihi” (=grant). But since often “dhaihi” can be used in a sense practically equivalent to “daihi”, it is quite possible that the ṛṣi-kavi used “dhaihi” both times as a word-play on purpose.

In 12b “janām anu” with rhythmical lengthening of the *singular collective* would be quite natural for the ṛṣi-kavi but impossible for the redactor. Much more so the original “caratāḥ anū janam—hence the reshuffle.

With 13 begins the anuṣṭubh ṛca, Note the pāda-reshuffle in 13, betraying the foolish “ha” instead of the meaningful-logical “yah”, completely misunderstood by the redactor as belonging to d (in the original order) or haplogically lost by the recuters (hence=*ha*), and leading him (para-logically) to *change* the verb accent. Further, “sunuta, juhuta” in 13 prove, by their position, the fact of the rhythmical lengthening in the original text. Hence “juhota” in 14 b , 15 b is the usual *pseudo*-analogy by the redactor to get *his* length and rhym. (And so throughout the Saṃhitā !).

In 15 we have the brazen inserting of a mere synonym (“pūrva-jebhyaḥ”) to get an *unmetrical* would-be brhatī, because the redactor cannot get *his* anuṣṭubh. The reconstructed text just gives him the lie—so blatantly. After 14, with its *finality*, “a juhutana” is the logical tense—in consonance with $c+d$.

16 is in *mixed* trochaic+iambic rhythm—the *real* precursor of the epic alternating rhythm—as a *coda-finale*. Both the rhythm and the sense suggest a reciter’s haplogy: “patat+tyat+ṣaṭ: patatya(c) chat”, miscorrected by the redactor into “patati ṣaṭ”. The original meant: “*That which* flew up in the “trikadrukas” (accross to ?) the six broad ones”, is this a riddle meaning *Soma*, or the *gāyatrī*, as the eagle carrying the *Soma*-offering for Yama ?) “*the one (who is) alone great*. Like the metres are contained in the *gāyatrī* (=“*gāyatrī*” ?) so is well-being (“*sarvatāt*”) contained (deposited) in Yama”.

(d) The redactor’s misanalysis could not be worse. And our gains for a text-critical recovery of the real Ṛgveda of the ṛṣi-kavis could scarcely be greater—thanks to this *one and only* proper method and approach. It needs Scarcely underlining that the results herewith obtained are, in turn, a magnificent confirmation and proof of the rightness of the method and its underlying principles and discoveries.

3. NOTES to 2 (c) and the problems involved.

The above restitution (of X, 14, especially X, 14, 1d) leads us to expect that the “enāḥ” of VIII, 97, 14 *must* be wrong and the result of redactorial manipulation and misunderstanding, since it is given as apparently *adjectival and accentless* !

(a) Note that the word—as we saw—occurs in a stanza which is in a hopeless state of metrical corruption as given by the Saṃhitā: 13+9+11+11 syllables. No kavi *can* perpetrate *that* ! The whole ṛca is metrically distorted: stanza 13 (13×4 !?), a shapeless metre made

“regular” by cheap “fillers”, and 15 (11+9+10+11)—a sheer monster. The real metre is as restituted; a *trīca* of similar stanzas: (12×2) (11×2) in *varying jagatī+trīṣṭubh pairs*. The trouble for the redactor begins in 13 b, which he wants to make *trīṣṭubh*-like (since the other three *pādas* seem to have *that* rhythm) but cannot—except by *adding* one more syllable (“śavaḥ: śavāṃsi”) and reshuffling the words. That leads him to add (for “regularity”) “ugram” in *a*, “yajñīyaḥ” in *c*, and “vajrī” (?) in *d*, the cheapest of fillers.

(b) In 13 c we expect “ā+īm” (the *absolutely necessary object* for the verb !) which has been “swallowed” by the reciters. In 13 d the parallel to “vavartat” is “kṛṇavat” with rhythmical lengthening (cfr. VII, 93, 6a, above), but the redactor *had* to put “kṛṇotu”, obviously !

In 14 *ab* “cikit” is precisely *the* form that can be the root of the whole mess made here by the redactor. But he is *probably* still better than all the “bhāṣyakāras” (including Wackernagel, Cfr. above) in *not* making “aināḥ” *adjectival+accentless*. He, most probably, understands: “tvam indra puraḥ cikit (asi)—enāḥ (puraḥ) aujasā vi nāśayadhyāi” in spite of the apparent nearness of “enāḥ” to “puraḥ” (yet *after* it !). But he misanalysed “indara cikit, aujasā” as “indara cikit, aujasā”, beginning a new sentence after “cikit” and giving to that word the value of the “parallel” texts esp. the close neighbours VIII, 102, 2c, VIII, 51, 3b (cfr. X, 3, 1c). But this leaves him short of one syllable. Then to make the sense clear (that “aujasā” does *not* belong to “cikit” !) and to “fill up”, as well as to make the metre of the first *pāda* somewhat resembling that of the previous stanza (4×13) he borrows “vi aināḥ” from *b* replacing it with a filler (“śakra”). That makes 13+9=2×11 which corresponds to *c+d* (2×11). All so messed up by the redactor ! But the restituted text speaks for itself, and there is no other that fulfills *all* the conditions of sense, style, rhythm, *rhyme* (and lack of foolish filler-repetitiousness !). The same must be said of *c+d* where the spreading of the subject before and after the verb (“viśvāni bhuvanāni ca rajantay īm dyauḥ pṛthivī ca”) and the verb in *plural* seeming to agree with a *dual* subject in the same *pāda* misleads the redactor into building up the corresponding devatā-dvandva (so as to gain one extra syllable which he has lost through the haplogy “rajantay+ī(m) dyauḥ”) and into making the verb into a *dual*-murdering the rhythm into the bargain. He is just like *that* ! The lost “ī(m)” is the anaphoric *plural* subject clarifying the *plural* verb quite idiomatically !

In 15b the redactor feels safe to change “iva” (required by the original metre) into “na” because the position in which *he* leaves it, fillers included, avoids any possible misunderstanding (as=*not*), and *he* needs it to get his “yati” ! It is also transparent ! But in order to get his *trīṣṭubh*-end rhythm he must go and guillotine away the all important, *un-expendable* “naḥ” (cfr. *c* !). Sheer “method-in-madness *cum* madness-in-method”.

In 15c the *padapāṭhakāra* has followed the redactor in misanalysing “rāyai” as “rāyaḥ” in the *original* model of this “borrowed” *pāda*, which is in VII, 37 d. But *there* the redactor had found (as his horrid “clipped” termination betrays):

(c) vavanmā tai+īm nu yujiyābhir ūtibhiḥ (cfr. below)

(d) kadā daśasyaiḥ rāya(y) ā naḥ indra

The presence of that “ā” leads him to think of “rāya(ḥ)ā” which he changes into a *genitive partitive*. Hence (by *his* magic principle of *pseudo-analogy* !)

when he comes to *our* (*repeated* !) pāda, he copies *his* analysis and correction, and *changes* the datives in *d* into *genitives* to agree ! (He is the limit !).

It is to be noted that those *two* (ultimately reducible to *one*) cases are the *only* ones of “daśasya+ā” and that *all* the other cases of “daśasya” go with a *dative* ! (Especially note VII, 100, 4: „daśasyan manuṣe kṣetrāya” !). The pointers to the redactorial muddling-meddling could not possibly be more pointed.

(c) But there is more. In this very hymn there is another case of similar redactorial messing. It is in the *ṛca* preceding ours, in 97, 10-12, which is made up of a pure jagatī stanza and two anuṣṭubh ones. (Cfr. the text below). The redactor, because of the fact that 1—9 is made of bṛhatīs (8+8+12+8), does not want to leave the only two *short* stanzas well alone—so he adds an appendix that makes the *last* pāda of each look like a jagatī (which the rhythm shows it *cannot* be) because it is the *only* place (at the *end* of the stanza and sentence !) where it is *both* times easy to add, without much trouble, something making *some* sense. (The result is, even then, only an “ad hoc” dislocated semi-bṛhatī !). Now, in 11 *c+d* we have an *interpāda saṃdhi* “vṛdha aujasā”. This, as the preceding “im” shows, can only refer to Indra, and, in the context, can only be “vṛdhai” (dative-infinitive) meaning that Indra may be a furtherer (“unto furtherance”) with the strength given him by the Soma-drink. The redactor has been made to miss the verb indicated by “yad”—which must be a subjunctive: “asad”. But *that* had disappeared in a reciter’s haplology, leaving a meaningless “aujasāsa dhṛtavrataḥ” which is reshuffled by the redactor into “dhṛtavrato hy aujasā” adding the “pūraṇa” *hi* (since “ha” would *not* yield rhythm for *him* !) and changing the word-order, because otherwise, the semblance of *his* jagatī would disappear. It all hangs together and shows how artificial the appendix is. The restituting reshuffles in the whole stanza justify themselves.

In this same *ṛca* we have other precious indications of redactorial methods.

In 10a we find a fine specimen of compound *tnesis* which *would* be taboo to the redactor, who with difficulty swallows the same thing only in devatā-compounds *ā contre coeur*.

In 10b the gloss “indram” *must* come to spoil a perfect jagatī. A redactor who dares *that* will dare anything *against the metre*, as he actually did in the same way in the next *ṛca* (shown above).

In 10c+d the pādas are transposed to avoid the *interpāda saṃdhi*—as indicated by the position of “uta”. Note the rhythmical lengthening in *c...* “āmurim uta” !

(d) The rest of this hymn (VIII, 97) contains further points, both confirmatory and additional, of the soundness of the method here propounded. We give it now in full.

VIII, 97

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|-----|
| 1. (a) | yaḥ indra bhujaḥ ābharah | =aḥ |
| (b) | suvarva(h) (?) asuraibhiyah | =aḥ |

- (c) ! stautā + āśaam (!) maghavan ya(h) + īm ca vardhaya = a
 (d) ! tvai vṛktabarhiṣaś ca yai × ai
2. (a) ! tuvaṃ yaṃ dadhiṣai + indara × a
 (b) ! bhāgaṃ gāṃ aśvaṃ avyayaṃ = am
 (c) yajatay it sunvate dakṣiṇāvatai (!) = ai
 (d) taṃ daihi, mā u panayai + ai
3. (a) ya(h) indra sasti avrataḥ = aḥ
 (b) anuṣvāpam adaivayan + am
 (c) sūvāis sa aivāiḥ mumurat (suvaṃ !) raam = am
 (d) sanutaḥ dhaihi taṃ tataḥ = aḥ
4. (a) yac chakra + asi parāvati = i
 (b) yad arvāvati vṛtrahan = am
 (c) gīrbhiḥ dyugadbhiḥ kaiśibhir atas tvaa (!) × a
 (d) sutavān ā vivūsati = i
5. (a) yad vā + asi raucanai divaḥ = aḥ
 (b) samudrasya + adhi viṣṭapai + ai
 (c) yat pārthivai sadanai vṛtrahantama = a
 (d) yad (vā ?) + antarikṣay, ā gahi = i
6. (a) ! saumaiṣu saumapās sa naḥ × aḥ
 (b) sutaiṣu śavasas-patai = i
 (c) ! rāyā + indara rādhasā sūnṛtāvātā (!) = ā
 (d) ! mādayasva pariṇasā = ā
7. (a) mā na(h) + indara parā vṛṇat (!) (Refrain-like !) = at
 (b) bhava + in naḥ sadhamāt tuvaṃ + am
 (c) tuvaṃ naḥ ūtiḥ tuvam in naḥ āpiyaṃ = am
 (d) mā na(h) + indara parā vṛṇat (Refrain-like) = at
8. (a) asma(y) + indara sacā sutai (Refrain-like !) = ai
 (b) sadā ni pītayai madhu = u
 (c) kṛdhi jaritrai maghāvānn avah mahat = at
 (d) asma(y) + indara sacā sutai (Refrain-like !) = ai
9. (a) na daivaah tuvā + aśata (Refrain-like) = a
 (b) na + adriyaḥ martiyāḥ yay u (!) + u
 (c) jātāni viśvā śavasā + abhibhūḥ asi = i
 (d) na daivaah tuvā + aśata (Refrain-like !) = a
10. (a) naram viśvāḥ pṛtanāḥ bhūtaram abhi × i
 (b) ! sajūḥ tataksuḥ jajanuḥ (!) ca rājasai = ai
 (d) aujīṣṭham ugraṃ tavaṣaṃ tarasvinam = am
 (c) kratvā varīṣṭham varay āmuīm uta (!) = a
11. (a) sam īm saumasya pītayai = ai
 (b) asvarar raibhaa(h) + indaram = am
 (c) suvarpatim, yad īm vṛdhai (!) = ai
 (d) ! aujasā + asat dhṛtavrataḥ (! !) × aḥ
12. (a) naimiṃ namanti cakṣasā = ā
 (b) maiṣaṃ viprāḥ abhisvarā = ā

- (c) ! adruhaḥ sudiitayaḥ (-dhiitayaḥ) (?) =aḥ
 (d) ! api karaṇai tarasvinaḥ (!!) =aḥ

(N. B. Here follow 13—15 as given further up).

(e) The *first tṛca* is a practical demonstration of the validity of our approach.

St. 1 is pure gibberish in the Saṃhitā (especially in c). To swallow *that* with a condescending “ārṣa”, is to insult the ṛṣi-kavis. In *b* we expect the vedic *voc*. The reciters gave a natural-phonetic “suvarva(m)a” which the redactor preferred to interpret as nom. (the accent being the same *here*) for euphony and because there is no other such *voc*. in *his* Saṃhitā text ! In pāda *c* he was completely bowled over by the hapl. “yaḥ+ī(m)+ca: yaica: yeca” and its double relative construction and the unexpected “stautā āsām: stautāsām-ma-” (with *its* hapl.), and the transitive causative sense of “*varadhaya*” (which makes no sense with “yaica”). Hence he *emendates* and assimilates “stotāram” to the needed *object* of “*vardhaya*” (presented by pāda-*d*) and drops that meaningless “yai ca” for a *clarifying* “*vardhaya stotāram asya*” (!?).

St. 2 shows the *yajña*-technician at work (“brāhmaṇa-like”). First in pāda *b*, the aviods “bhāgaṃ gām” for euphony. Then he must have “yajamāna” vs. the older “yajate” (because the saṃdhi “yajata(y) it: yajata it” is rhythmically worse and confusing vs. “yajāta(h) it”!). But, in the dative, *that* would give too many syllables; hence, *loc.* for *dat.* (even if *that* murders the rhythm after the yati !). That involves the “small” change “daihi: dhaihi” (which he takes from the next 3*d*!) and it allows him to “correct” the, for *him*, impossible “taṃ daihi, mā paṇayai” (which had also been haplogically distorted !) A chain-reaction of redactorial errors ! Note “mā” that breaks the rhythm, because the “u” (or is it “sma”, “tu”, “ca”?) has been eliminated in favour of the foolish “tasmin” ! The restituted text is so natural, that it speaks for itself.

In 3*b* he changes the misunderstandable “adaivayan (-yam),” which word, in this form, is an *hap. leg.* in the Saṃhitā (“adaivayantam” only !) into the common “(a)=daivayuh”. In 3*c* he finds an imitation of “suvāis sa aivāih rīrīṣiṣṭa (for “rīrīṣiṣya,—cfr. further down) yur janah” (VIII, 18, 13), but no final rhythm for *his* habits (“rām,” vs. the kavi’s “raam”); hence—since, besides, he pronounces “svāih svam” !—“poṣiyam rayim”, imitating I, 113, 15a (“poṣiyā variyāni”) of that Uṣas’ hymn, and getting *his* 11 syllables ! (N. B. This shows the way how all the old “rām” occurrences except one *late* case, were eliminated in favour of “rayim” by the redactor, so as to “save” the metre, which *his* loss of vowel-resolutions could not heal otherwise !).

In 4*c* the redactor wants to get out of the same kind of rhythmical difficulty, hence he *clips the termination* of “dyugadbhiḥ” and *adds* a cheap “indra” to get *his* metre somehow, even with a wrong initial rhythm. All such “clippings” are redactorial on principle !

In 5*b* “viṣṭapi” due to the “parrallel” IX, 12, 6; 107, 14. But cfr. VIII, 91, 5 and Grassmann.

In 6*cd* he transfers the verb (murdering the initial rhythm !) for

clarity's sake ! In 6a it might be *possible* to consider a voc. from "somapāḥ" analogical to "candramāḥ=maḥ" as poetic licence !

In 7-9 the *refrains* prove the existence of rhyme-endings, *intended* by the ṛṣi-kavi. This splendidly confirms our momentous discovery of the use of rhyme. .

In 7ad we have to read an alternative "vṛṇat" (as against the "regular" normalised "vṛṇak") from the living speech, (as in all the similar cases). In 7b there was probably a reciter's and: or redactor's haplogy of the natural-sounding "sadhamāt + tuvam (:sadhamātvam ?) + tuvam in c.

In 8b the redactor has reshuffled for "clarity", so as to bring verb and preposition closer.

In 9ab "daivāsaḥ martiyāsaḥ" are, as usual, redactorial "fillers". The idiomatic "na martiyā(ḥ) yaḥ" sounded like a senseless or confusing "martiyāya" in the reciters' mouth especially with "u" following: In 9c "jātāni viśvā : viśvāni jātā" are both possible. The redactor chose it to make it look more "correct", with the "termination" *ending* the couple !

The rest of the hymn has been commented upon further up.

III. A PARALLEL TEXT AS CONFIRMATION.

It only remains now for us to justify our emendations of VIII, 97, 15c by giving the original which contains its parallel. Of it we can also say that it presents further proofs, both confirmatory and additional, of the soundness of the method here propounded. We give it now reconstructed in full: VII, 37.

1. The text.

- | | | |
|----------|--|----------|
| 1, (a) | rathaḥ amṛktaḥ vaajaḥ ṛbhukṣaṇaḥ | =aḥ(12) |
| (b) | vāhiṣṭhaḥ ā vaḥ stavadhyai vahātu | × u |
| (c) | saumāiḥ triprsthāiḥ abhi śavanaishu | × u |
| (d) | madai prṇadhvaṃ mahabhiḥ suśipraaḥ | × aḥ(12) |
| 2, (a) | yūyaṃ dhattha ā maghavatsu ratnaṃ (!) | =am |
| (b) | ṛbhukṣaṇaḥ yat amṛktaṃ suvardṛśaḥ | × aḥ(12) |
| (c) | sva-dhāvantaḥ tai saṃ pibata yajñai (! !) | + ai |
| (d) | dayadhvaṃ naḥ matibhiḥ rādhaamsi vi | × i(12) |
| 3, (a) | uvaucithā hi maghavan da(y)iṣṇam | =am |
| (b) | arbhasya mahaḥ vasunaḥ vibhaagai | =ai(12) |
| (c) | ubhā pūrṇā vasunā tai gabhastii | =i(12) |
| (d) | na sūnṛtā ni yamatai vasavyā | =ā |
| 4, (a) | tvam indara sva-yaśaḥ ṛbhukṣaḥ | =aḥ(12) |
| (b) | vājaḥ na sādhuḥ astam aiṣi ṛkvā | =ā |
| (c) | vayāṃ u (!) tai dāśvaamsaḥ vasiṣṭhaaḥ (! !) | =aḥ(12) |
| (d) | brahmā k(a)rantaḥ (!) harivaḥ syāama (! !) | =a |
| 5, ! (b) | yābhiḥ vivaiṣaḥ hari(y)aśva dhibhiḥ | =iḥ(12) |
| ! (c) | vavanma ā tai + iṃ yujiyābhiḥ ūtibhiḥ (! !) | + iḥ(12) |

(d) ! kadā daśasyaiḥ rāyay ā naḥ indra	× a
(a) ! daaśuṣai sanitā + asi pravat na	+ a
6, (a) vaasayasi vaidhasaḥ + iva naḥ tuvam	× am (12)
(b) kadā naḥ indra vacasaḥ bubaudhaḥ	= ah
(d) ! prkṣaḥ na arvā vajinī uhiya ni (!)	× i (12)
(c) ! astam dhiiḥ tatiyā rām suvīram	= am
7, ! (b) suprkṣaḥ im indra nakṣanti śāradah	= ah (12)
! (a) daivī nirṇtiḥ iisai yam (!) abhi (!)	× i
(c) aiti + im (!) tribandhuḥ jaradaṣṭim ūpa	× a
(d) yaṃ (!) martaah asvavaśam na kṛṇavan	× an (12)
8, (a) stavadyai naḥ savitaḥ rādhaamsi (!)	× i
(b) ā yantu rāyaḥ parvatasya rātaa (!)	+ a (12)
(c) sadā pāyuh diviyaḥ naḥ siṣaktu ca (!)	+ a (12)
(d) sadā paa't ā-yūya nas suvasi (! !)	+ i

2. Remarks.

(a) In *rab* the redactor, against his usual trend (of mentioning the deities at once) has reshuffled the pādas against the more natural syntactical order ! He has probably done so, in order to make *his* anuprāsa (“ā vaḥ vāhiṣṭhaḥ vahatu”) more prominent and to place the *upāsarga* at the head—though it murders the rhythm, and is against the cut of the sentence (which ends naturally with “vahatu”). But his reason is to avoid the confusing *interpāda* saṃdhi that would result from *his* word reshuffling (cfr. the *Samhitā*).—His reshuffles in *lc* are forced on him by his lack of rhythmical lengthening and the fear of saṃdhis; those in *d*, by the desire to have the verb at the end and the vocative towards the head of the pāda, especially since (for him) “madai prṇadhvaṃ” can be misunderstandable as “made”, a “filler”: it shows here the redactor’s misanalysis of the reciters’ haplology “dhattha ā : dhatthā”, but he needs “ha” for *his* correct triṣṭubh; (and in the same way he *has* to suppress “yat”—demanded by the sense *and* rhythm in *b*—because of *his* triṣṭubh, besides reshuffling the words to avoid a disturbing *interpāda*-saṃdhi !). He feels no need of the “ā”, because “dhā” goes often without it too. The reshuffle (in *a*) is obviously due to his wanting a “better order” in the sentence and a long syllable at the “yati”. In *2bc* we see how naturally the ṛṣi-kavis make intra-compound “yatis” “amṛktam, sva-dhāvantaḥ”. As for the pl. “yajñai(ṣu) in *2c*, it is an obvious meaningless filler—the request being naturally for the *present* sacrifice ! to make up for the loss of “tai” which makes *any* correct triṣṭubh impossible. (There are heaps of such stop-gaps throughout the *Samhitā* !). The same goes for “pibadhvaṃ”, imitating *Id*, *2d*—wrongly—*vs.* “pibata”. In *2d* the redactor *would* do anything to get his “preposition” *before* the verb. *3b* shows how an initial rhythm is murdered for the sake of “improving” it *without* the rhythmical length: “maho arbhasya” is really an impossible hybrid of a *pseudo*-analogical saṃdhi—the SK’s favourite ?

(b). In *4a* again the intra-cpd. “yati”. In *4cd* it is evident that the verb “syaama” (as so many parallels show) has its reserved place at the end of a triṣṭubh; but the redactor wants to make the “vaṣiṣṭhāḥ” more prominent; hence he swaps the two places and words, thus effectively murdering the rhythm-scheme besides. And to leave us in no doubt that

he is meddling, he changes the telling “vayaṃ u” into “vayaṃ nu” (to avoid the three “hrasva” syllables !) and regains his syllables (lost for him in “krantaḥ: k(a)rantaḥ”) by a rhythm-murdering “kṛṇvantaḥ”. The thing is so evident it makes our ṛgvedic scholarship look foolish for having ignored it so long. But nothing can equal the foolish looks of all *bhāṣyakāras* past and present for trying to “swallow” the impossible order and senselessness of 5 with the redactors’ whole box of tricks in full employment: pāda-reshuffle (bcda !), clipped termination (“utī : utibhiḥ”), wrong rhythmical lenthening (“vavanmā” for “vavanma ā” !), wrong substitution (“pravat na : pravataḥ”), misanalysis (“rāyaḥ: rayai”), haplology (“tai+ī(ṃ): tai(ṃ): tai: te”). The meaning is clear—when all that rubbish has been methodically cleared: “We, oh Indra, have desired those (“īṃ” !) intentions (well-meaning plans) with which you set to work, (them) together with the associated helps. When . . . (etc.) ? To the worshipper you are a (generous) winner-giver, like a stream.” The whole construction could not be more racily idiomatic—till our misguided editor set about “improving” it with a plethora of those “good intentions” that pave the way to the veritable text-critical hell that is the “Saṃhitā—as-she-is-wrote”. Poor ṛṣi-kavis ! And look at Sāyaṇa or Geldner (or any *bhāṣyakāra*) dancing to that impossible tune. Who ever heard of “sanitā pravataḥ ?” One can only say “pravataḥ tarāmasi” (as in VII, 32, 27) in a different sense. But the redactor did not know what to do (with the reciter’s “pravatna”) to get his verse, since he could not get his rhythm nor his “yati”—nor sense—with it, so (besides adding a senseless “cit” !) he tried to get both an object for “sanitā” and a rhythm=filling word with similar accent, and that was of course “pravataḥ” (which he borrowed from the neighbouring-*preceding* VII, 32, 27 q. v. !). A very similar reconstruction must be made in the confusing (cfr. Geldner and his off the mark remarks to the effect that “pravat=pravataḥ” with “clipped” termination—the idea !) IX, 74, 7c:

dhiyā śamī sacate sa(h) + īṃ abhi pravat
 “dhiyā śamī pra-vat na sacata + īṃ abhi”

where “sacata” is, the *injunctive* corresponding to the darśat” (*subj.*) in *d*. But the “point d’ appui” for our redactor was the parallel in X, 142, 2a, which he had also “corrected” (for “clarity”)—

(into): “pravat te agne janimā pituyataḥ
 (from): “pravat na tai janima + agnai pituyataḥ”

precisely to avoid the confusing saṃdhi and the (for him !) misleading “na”. (It is, as usual, *pseudo-analogy systematically* applied as in “pavāka: pāvaka”). But note the rhythmical length “janimā” vs. Pp. !

(c) In 6a the redactor would have to suppress one jagatī-building extra syllable (to avoid the double-saṃdhi) or else reshuffle as he did. Besides he could not properly accommodate the words in his triṣṭubh, faulty as it is (mark, the position and “rhythm” of that “vāsayasīva”, desperately trying to look as if it got the regulation late-caesura !). The śruti nature of the Ṛgveda manifests it self in 6dc. Here the SK interprets: “astam dhīḥ tatiyā” (with “dhīḥ” originally pronounced with *saṃdhi*less visarga at the yati—and sounding to him as “dhī tatiyā”, precisely because there was no saṃdhi “dhīṣṭa-”, as his rules made him expect !) as an “ārṣa” instrum. which he “clarifies” into the regular “dhiyā”, thereby gaining the

syllable lost through lack of vowel-resolution ! Then, by the side of the usual “*ṛkṣaḥ na arvā*” (which he misinterprets as “*naḥ arvā*” !), he stumbles across “*vājinyuhiya ni*”. This he promptly misanalyses as “(*ṛkṣaḥ naḥ arvā*) *vāji ni uhiya ni*” which gives two “*ni*” and one syllable too many for his triṣṭubh. And he must reshuffle, so as to get his verb at the end, but, above all, so as to avoid the *interpāda-saṁdhi* “*vājyastam*” (resulting from his word-reshuffles). An there goes by the board a masterpiece of the ṛṣi-kavi’s artistry : “*dhīḥ tatiyā, ṛkṣaḥ na arvā vājini, rāṁ suviraṁ ni uhiya astam*” ! (Is not there a “*pāuraṇika*” Dante who can invent a special kind of “*naraka*” with peculiar “*yātanā*” for Saṁhitā-redactors who have so tortured our glorious ṛṣi-kavis ? There ought to be, surely !) A look at our restituted text is enough to convince any vedic scholar—and to prove convincingly the rightness of our method, principles and discoveries. The substitution of *archaic* “*rām*” is for an extra syllable; that of *archaic* “*uhiya*” (=“*uhīta*” !) we shall deal with at length elsewhere. The same probably applies to “*rīriṣīya vs. rīriṣīṣṭa*” (in VIII, 18, 13 above), since the *1st. p.* (*ātm. bened.*) is “*rīriṣīya*” also.

In 7*a* the hopeless redactor *has* to meddle for his triṣṭubh’s sake. The meaningless and misplaced “*cit*” must do for a stop-gap verse-filler, and “*nakṣanti*” (in *b*) must become “*nakṣante*” to prevent the *saṁdhi* (his !). And then—to crown it all with the fool’s cap and bells !—Indra, the immortal one, must get his years increased. And all Bhāṣyakāras and vedic scholars gleefully chorus : “*om ! tathā astu ! āṛṣam, āṛṣam, āṛṣam*” ! (Truly “*risum teneatis*” ?) Of course, *not* ! It’s just the usual perverse analysis of the reciter’s *śruti*-text by our blundering redactor. (We would confidently stake the rightness of our discoveries and system upon this one stanza which is a jewel in style and balance, and which in this, its reconstructed, form is most probably *Vasiṣṭha’s own* composition and contains a reference to his own life’s vicissitudes). The *pāda*-order *ba* (*demanded* by rhythm and rhyme) is the exact parallel of the sentence order in *dc*, which thus confirms it.

And, finally, 8. Mark (in *a*) the unnecessary duplicating filler “*ā*” *vs.* the one in the second *pāda*. Also the guillotining away of the jagati-building “*ca*” (in the third) which is so natural stylistically. It is the usual method-in-madness.

Nothing more need be said about it, expect for the famous *signature-pāda* of the *Vasiṣṭhās*, which here appear would seem to clearly as *Vasiṣṭha’s own* ! Just look at the two parallel *pādas* !

- (c) *sadā pāyuh diviyah naḥ śiṣaktu ca*
 (d) *sadā paat ā-yūya nas suvasti (! ! ?)*

How could ever R̥gvedic scholarship rest content with such redactorial absurd make-believe as the Saṁhitā-text shows (*q. v.*) !? (Let us hang our heads in shame and look at this as a reminder of humility, if ever we run the risk of feeling a swelled head over the achievements of our R̥gvedic lore). It is obvious that only the living-traditional-recitatorial speech, the *śruti*-text can explain, here as elsewhere, the haplogologies, diplogologies and consequent misanalysis and miscorrections by the redactor for the sake of his “*kula-devatā*”: the “*ardhanareśvarī*”-like “*chandas-cum-grammar*” combined. And the redactorial touches are typical especially “*svasti* : *suvasti* : *suvasti + bhiḥ* (like, *vice versa*, “*ūti*; *ūti + bhiḥ*” !).

The reciters *must* have pronounced “sadāpaātāyūyanas : sadā pātā yūya(m)nas” (diplomacy !) with the almost inevitable *misanalysis* by the redactor. That “*pātā*” was to him an “*ārṣa*” length, of course !). But the ṛṣi-kavi had wanted: “sadā paāt ā-yūya nas suvasti” “suvasti” being the *old* nominative of the substantivised “su-asti” (vs. the later “suvastiḥ”). Here it is personified, as a sort of genius (goddess-like ?) that should embrace the proteges. The meaning is made absolutely clear by I,105,2:

(a) arthām it vā(y)i arthinaḥ

(b) ā jāyā yuvatai patiṃ

The pronunciation (by the ṛṣi-kavi) of “paāt” is based on the vowel-resolution of the root-vowel pā (=paa !)” *plus* the *a* of the *subjunctive*. Hence “paa + a paāt” ! That was the ṛṣi-kavis’ *orthoepe* for versification, involving the resolution of *any* long vowel—as the metre *demand*ed it.

IV. Conclusion : The Saṃhitā-Code Deciphered.

This treasure-trove (*under* the palimpsest-daubings !) in the case of such a famous refrain is a jewel of the ṛṣi-kavis’ most perfect workmanship. The Vasiṣṭhās had every reason to be proud of it and to hold it up as a banner. But not even *that* could protect it against the natural ravages of oral transmission *plus* redactorial distortion ! Ālas ! What *must*, then, be the text-corruption of the rest of the Saṃhitā ! This pāda is indeed the supreme shame of the Saṃhitā-kāra redactor. How Vasiṣṭha must have turned in his grave ! But even if he has cried in vain for twenty = five centuries: “tamasah mā jyotiḥ gamayata”, we feel the joy of knowing that this new method shall be to him (and to the ṛṣi-kavis all):

“jyotiḥ na “put-traḥ” paramai viyoman”

The code of the Saṃhitā-palimpsest has been, once and for all, “cracked” ?

“jayanti, jayanti maharṣayaḥ mahākavayaḥ !

YOGA IN RĠ-VEDA

The word 'Yōga' is derived from √ yuj, to yoke, to harness, to apply or to put together. It occurs seventeen times in the Rġ-Veda, mostly in the locative case, in which it occurs fourteen times. It occurs but once in the nominative singular¹, accusative singular² and in the accusative plural.³ Of the forms in the locative, nine occur alone,⁴ one is an iterative⁵ and the remaining four occur being preceded by the correlate 'Kṣema',⁶ also used in the locative case.

The word is used in the sense of putting two objects together, i.e., yoking the draught animal to a chariot. Thus, in one place the yoking (yoga-RV. 1-34-9.)⁷ of the mighty ass to the chariot of the Aśvins is referred to. In another place it is said that at the yoking (harnessing) of the chariot (yasya yoge-RV. 10-39-12)⁸ of the Aśvins, Uṣas springs to birth and from Vivasvān come auspicious Night and Day. The word is used elsewhere also with reference to the chariot (yasya yoge RV. 8-58-3.)⁹ Indra is invoked to yoke (yoge... kṛṇuhi RV. 5-43-5) the two well-trained horses to his chariot.¹⁰ In all these cases, the gods like Indra Aśvins, etc., are invoked to come to the sacrifice in their chariots, properly harnessed.

Sometimes, 'yoga' is used in the sense of coming or bringing together, in general. In a verse addressed to the Aśvins, it is stated, that with the

1 योगः 1-34-9

2 योगम् 10-114-9

3 योगान् 2-8-1

4 योगे 1-5-3; 2-27-11; 4-24-4; 5-43-5; 7-67-8; 8-58-3;
10-30-11, 35-9, 39-12.

5 योगे योगे 1-30-7

6 क्षेमे=योगे 5-37-5; 7-54-3; 86-8; 10-89-10

7 क॒दा योगो वा॒जिनो रा॒सभ॒स्य (1-34-9)

ग॒र्दभ॒स्य योगः रथे योजनम् (Sāyaṇa)

8 यस्य योगे दुहि॒ता जायते दि॒वः (10-39-12)

यस्य रथस्य योगे सम्बन्धे सति दिवो दुहिता उषा जायते प्रादुर्भवति (Sāyaṇa)

9 यस्य योगे... (8-58-3)

10 ह॒री रथे सु॒धुरा योगे अ॒र्वाग्नि॒न्द्र प्रि॒या कृ॒णुहि ह्य॒मानः (5-43-5)

coming together of their intentions, (ekasmin yoge—RV. 7-67-8),¹¹ their chariot has travelled over the seven rivers. The priests pray and perfect the hymn when the pressing stones are brought together (grāvṇām yoge)¹² on the strewing grass (X. 35-9).

In one place, the word refers, by transference of the sense, to the yoked ones, viz., the horses of Agni (Agneḥ yogān—RV. 2-8-1.).¹³

Yōga also means, application, performance or undertaking. In one place, a question is put with reference to the knowledge about the application of the metres (chandasām yogam—RV. 10-114-9)¹⁴ on the part of the sages. In the performance of the sacrifice (ṛtasya yoge—RV. 3-27-11)¹⁵, the priests are said to kindle the swift and active Agni with their food. The Waters are also invoked to disclose the udder (like cows) for the performance of the sacrifice (ṛtasya yoge—RV. 10-30-11).¹⁶ The idea of undertaking or activity is retained in the iterative use of the word also. Thus, Indra the mightiest, is invoked for succour in every deed and need (yoge yoge—RV. 1-30-7).¹⁷ He is likewise invoked to stand by the devotees in their undertaking (yoge—RV. 1-5-3)¹⁸ and to confer the needs on them. In another verse addressed to Indra, the people are said to put forth their vigour in their Undertaking (yoge—4-24-4).¹⁹

- 11 एकस्मिन् योगे भुरणा समाने परि वां सप्त स्रवतो रथो गात् । (7-67-8)
युवयोः उभयसाधारणे योगे ऽस्मद्विषये सति युवयोः रथः सप्त गङ्गाद्याः परिगच्छति (s)
- 12 अद्वेषो अद्य बहिषः स्तरीमणि ग्राव्णां योगे मन्मनः साध ईमहे । (10-35-9)
अभिषवपाषाणानां सोमेन सह संयोगे (s)
- 13 वाजयन्निव नू रथान् योगां अग्निरुप स्तुहि ।
अग्नेः योगान् अश्वान् (s)
- 14 कश्छन्दसां योगमा वेद धीरः (10-114-9)
कः गायत्र्यादीनां योगं स्तुतशस्त्रात्मना नियोगम् आवेद । (s)
- 15 अग्निं यं तुरमप्तुरमृतस्य योगे वनूषः विप्रा वाजैः समिधन्ते । (3-27-11)
ऋतस्य सत्यभूतस्य ज्योतिष्टोमादेः योगे प्रयोगार्थम् (s)
- 16 ऋतस्य योगे विष्यध्वमूधः । (10-30-11)
ऋतस्य यज्ञस्य योगे संयोगे (s)
- 17 योगे योगेतवस्तरं वाजेवाजे हवामहे । सखाय इन्द्रमृतये । (1-30-7)
योगे योगे तत्तत्कर्मोपक्रमे (s)
- 18 स घानो योग आ भुवत् (1-5-3)
स एव इन्द्रः अस्माकं पूर्वमप्राप्तस्य पुरुषार्थस्य संबन्ध आभवत्, पुरुषार्थ साधयत् । (s)
- 19 क्रतूयन्ति क्षितयो योग उग्राशुषाणासो मिथो अर्णसातौ (4-24-4)
मनुष्याः मिथः योगे सम्बन्धे सति कर्माणीच्छन्ति । (s)

'Yóga' is used preceded by and in close proximity with its related word 'Kṣema' both of them being used in the locative case. It retains the idea of activity and means work or labour, while 'Kṣema' stands for rest or peace. This combination occurs twice in hymns addressed to Indra and once in a verse addressed to Varuṇa and Vāstoṣpati. Indra is declared as worthy of being invoked both in rest (peace) and work (war), (kṣeme-yoge, RV. 10-89-10)²⁰ and is invoked to give his support to the devotee in peace and war (kṣeme-yoge—RV. 5-37-5).²¹ Varuṇa is similarly invoked so that it may be well with the singers both in rest and work (kṣeme-yoge—RV. 7-86-8).²² Vāstoṣpati, Lord of the house, is invoked to protect the wealth of the devotee both in rest and labour (kṣeme-yoge—RV. 7-54-3).²³ In all these contexts, Sāyaṇa interprets 'yóga' as fresh acquisition and 'kṣema' (as preservation thereof—a rather technical sense which has persisted up to the present day in the interpretation of 'yoga-kṣema' and which can be ultimately traced to the root-idea of activity and rest.

Thus 'yóga' in R̥g-Veda is used in the sense of yoking or harnessing a draught-animal to a chariot, or figuratively, harnessing or applying oneself to some activity like the sacrifice. It also means the coming or bringing of two objects together. Yóga presupposes the essential idea of two things which come or are brought together and this central idea of the word can be found in all the instances where the word 'yóga' occurs in the R̥g-Veda.

During and after the Vedic period, the word 'yóga' has developed different shades of meaning, while retaining the original idea in a higher or lesser degree. In philosophic parlance, from efficient action, Yóga has risen in its sense to the heights of abstract meditation culminating in the union and the merging of the individual Soul in the Supreme or Universal Soul.

Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran
Prof. of Sanskrit,
Annamalai University.

20 .. इन्द्रः क्षेमे योगे हव्य इन्द्रः (10-89-10)

क्षेमे लब्धस्य धनस्य परिपालने, योगे ऽलब्धस्य धनस्यलाभे अपीन्द्र एव ह्वातव्यो भवति । (S)

21 पुष्यात् क्षेमे अभि योगे भवति (5-37-5)

क्षेमे प्राप्तस्य धनस्य रक्षणे अलब्धस्य प्राप्तौ चापि प्रभवति । (S)

22 शं नः क्षेमे शमु योगे नो अस्तु ... (7-86-8)

अप्राप्तस्य प्रापणं योगः प्राप्तस्य रक्षणं क्षेमः । अस्मदीये क्षेमे रक्षणे उपद्रवाणां शमनमस्तु । योगे च नो अस्मदीये प्रापणे शमनमेवास्तु उपद्रवाणाम् । (S)

23 पाहि क्षेम उत योगे वरं नो .. (7-54-3)

हे वास्तोष्पते, त्वमपि प्राप्तस्य रक्षणे, अपि च अप्राप्तस्य प्रापणे वरणीयं अस्मदीयं धनं पाहि । (S)

ON THE ORAL AND THE WRITTEN TRANSMISSIONS OF THE AVESTA TEXTS

By

Dastur Dr. Hormazdyar Mirza

There appears to be a double tradition, current in Sasacnian times, regarding transmission of the Avesta texts. The Pahlavi literature records the double tradition of the oral and the written transmissions of the sacred texts. This problem of the oral and the written transmissions, recorded in the Pahlavi literature, is very ably treated by Professor H. W. Bailey in his learned work *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books*, Oxford 1943.

The Pahlavi text of the Artā Virāf Nāmak (Ch. 1. 1-17), and the Great Bundahisn (p. 214.8 seq.) state that the Avesta and the Zand were written on the ox hides; and when Alexander invaded Eron he destroyed them (Bailey pp. 51-152). According to Sahrihā i Erān (2 seq.), the 1200 chapters of the *den* (i. e. the scripture) were written on the ox hides (Bailey pp. 153-154). The Dēnkart (ed. Madan p. 437. 17-20) records the tradition that Jāmāsp had learned the Avesta and Zand combined from Zartušt, and had written the same on the ox hides, and had deposited the same in the Royal Treasury (Bailey p. 154).

The Dēnkart has preserved other two accounts also. One of them states (Madan pp. 405-407) : Vistāsp caused the teaching of Zartušt to be recorded in a book, and deposited the basic text in the Royal Treasury, and a copy thereof in the Fortress of Writing. According to the other account of the Dēnkart (Madan pp. 411-413), Dārāy ī Dārāyān had two copies of the sacred writings, written and safely deposited, which were destroyed by Alexander. Then Valxas the Askaniān rescued 'all that, written down, had been scattered in Erān Sahr, including what had survived in the land by oral transimssion (Bailey pp. 155-156). The Dēnkart here records the double tradition of the written and the oral transmission (*uzvān-āpas-pārisnik* Madan p. 412.9) of the Avesta texts. The Pahlavi works, therefore, generally agree that there was the written Avesta in the time of Dārāy ī Dārāyān (Darius III).

PROFESSOR BAILEY'S ARGUMENTS

Professor Bailey (pp. 150-151, 169-176) discounts this tradition recorded in the Pahlavi works, and doubts the existence of the written Avesta before the time of King Husrav (531-578 A. C.). He argues :

(a) that Phl. *patvand* ('tradition, transmission') in the *Mēnōk ī Xrat* (Prusisn 26.2) is translated in Sanskrit by āmnāya : 'tradition preserved by memory' (p. 149).

(b) that 'when in the ninth century A. D. the Zoroastrians recorded their views of the transmission of their sacred teachings, it is fairly clear to us that they found themselves in a difficult position' (p. 151).

(c) that the accounts of the written transmission, given in the Pahlavi literature, are vague and often inconstituent (pp. 151ff.).

(d) that there is a strong tradition of the oral transmission (p. 158).

(e) that memorizing the sacred texts is extolled as a special qualification of the Zoroastrian priests (pp. 158ff.), and again forgetfulness is severely reprimanded (p. 165);

(f) that 'It is also clear from the Dēnkart that the time of King Husrav I was considered of great importance for the Zoroastrian priests when heresy, that is, in chief, Mazdak, the *ahramoyān ahrmōy* (Dēnkart, Madan 653.11), had been overcome' (p. 157).

(g) That there is a reference in the epistle of Manuscihr to the publication of the Avesta by Vēh-Sāpuhr in the time of King Husrav I (p. 173).

Hence Professor Bailey concludes :

(a) that 'The date of the first complete writing down of the Avesta may be about the middle of the sixth century A. D.' (p. 172).

(b) that 'If an earlier text existed, even in parts, its relation ship to the present text would be like that of Khotanese-Sanskrit to Indian Sanskrit I doubt its existence but the negative is hard to prove' (p. 172 footnote 3).

But I think if we examine the problem in the light of the existing Avesta manuscripts we can arrive at a more satisfactory solution.

ORAL AND WRITTEN TRANSMISSIONS EXISTED SIDE BY SIDE EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY THE EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS OF THE AVESTA

It appears that there was in existence the written *Apastāk u Zand*¹ in the Achaemenian times, and the same, in fragmentary condition, had been handed down to the Zoroastrian priests of the Sasanian times. Besides this written *Apastāk u Zand* there appears to be the oral transmission of the Avesta texts as they were recited in the ceremonies. And, in the opinion of this writer, these two ancient transmissions—written as well as oral—are represented respectively by two main and distinct groups into which the extant Avesta manuscripts are divided.

1. The *Zand* (Av. *āzaiñti* : 'commentary') was in existence even in the Avesta times and in Avesta language. The *Zand* on three ancient prayers is preserved in yasn 19, 20 and 21 respectively. Again, chanting of the Avesta texts with commentary (*matāzaiñti*) is mentioned in Yasn 57.8, and in Vispered 14.2 and elsewhere. Professor Bailey overlooks this important fact of the existence of the *Zand* in the Avesta language when he writes about 'the failure (of the Pahlavi writers) to distinguish between the *apastāk* and the *zand*, the older text and their commentary' (p. 151).

When the Pahlavi writers speak of *Apastāk u Zand* in the Achaemenian times they may be referring to the Avesta texts and the commentary thereon in the Avesta language. The Pahlavi translations with commentary of the Avesta texts, done in the Sasanian times, were also known as *Zand*.

It is a well known fact that all the extant manuscripts of the Avesta are divided into two main, distinct groups :

(a) the manuscripts of the Avesta texts with their translation and commentary—*Apastāk u Zand*.

(b) the manuscripts of the Avesta texts as they are recited in the ceremonies, with or without ritual directions, generally known as the *Sāda* texts (i. e. texts without translation and commentary).

The manuscripts belonging to the first group are meant for the study of the Avesta, and those belonging to the second group are meant for ritual purposes.

Professor K. F. Geldner has very carefully and critically examined 134 Indian and Iranian manuscripts of the Avesta for his excellent edition : *Avesta the Sacred Books of the Parsis*, Stuttgart 1885-1896. Professor Geldner's critical Prolegomena to his *Avesta*, and his learned article on *Avesta Literature* in *Gründriss der iranischen Philologie* (II. 2. 1, translated into English by Dr. D. Machichan in *Avesta Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies*, Strassbourg-Leipzig 1904) will at once convince anyone that these two groups of the Avesta manuscripts are distinct and well-defined; and that they have been handed down to us from ancient times both in Iran and India.

Professor Geldner thus defines these two groups of the Avesta manuscripts :

(a) "Yasna, Visparad, and Vendidad. These three texts were handed down in writing in different ways according as they were intended to be studied and understood or to be simply mechanically learned by heart and recited. In the former case the Avesta is accompanied by a translation in Pahlavi, Sanskrit or Gujarati; in the latter only the Avesta text, often interspersed with ritual directions, is given.... The pure text as opposed to that which is intermingled with a translation has received the additional name *sāde* 'pure'." (*AV.-Phl.... Studies*, p. 16).

(b) "The MSS. of the three texts in question (Yas., Visp., Vd.) fall in the first place into two great classes independent of each other—the MSS. accompanied by a translation, and the *Sāde* MSS." (*ibid.* p. 19)

A few important observations made by Prof. Geldner in connection with the extant Avesta MSS. may here be noted :

(a) "The arrangement of the texts in all Mss. of the Vendidad *Sāda*, including the Persian, is the same. In the case of repetitions, while the Pahlavi Vendidad prefers abbreviating or abridging, the Vendidad *sāda*, especially in the Vendidad, avoids this; the text is given by the latter almost always in extenso. In general, in the case of greater divergences, the text of the Vendidad *sādas* is the fuller, that of the Pahlavi Vendidas is the more brief." (Prolegomena, p. xix)

1. "By Pahlvi Vendidad Geldner means Avesta Vendidad with its Pahlvi translation and commentaries.

(b) "By no means rare is the case where all the Vendidād sādās agree in a majority of single words or clauses as opposed to minority in the Pahlavi Vendidād. In the case of the single Vendidād sādā Mss. differences arising from omissions or additions are very rare. All Mss. of the vendidād sādā ultimately presuppose a common archetype." (ibid.)

(c) "The difference between the text accompanied by the old commentary and the sādā-text is most striking in the case of the Vispered. The former aims at the greatest possible brevity, omitting all that has already been given or is perfectly easily understood. The ritual text of the sādā Mss., on the other hand, is overlaid with formulas and repetitions." (ibid. pp. xxxvii-xxxviii)

(d) "A common archetype lies at the basis of all Vispered sādās." (ibid. p. xxxix)

(e) "The Vendidād Sādes are widely distributed in India; they all go back in the last resort to one archetype. ... They represent the vulgate-text of the three books, which has degenerated through frequent copying, and has, further, been strongly influenced by an inexact oral tradition." (*AV.-Phl., Studies*, p. 23)

(f) "The MSS. of the Yasna sāde also presuppose an archetype which stood near to the Vendidād sāde." (ibid. p. 24)

The Pahlavi translators and commentators quote, in support of their statements, the Avesta texts, which are now lost. These Avesta quotations, quoted as glosses in the Pahlavi translations and commentaries, are wrongly incorporated into the Avesta sādā texts. Prof. Geldner thinks, therefore, that the Avesta sādā texts are derived from the Avesta texts with Pahlvai translations. Prof. Geldner writes :

(a) "There seems to me to be no doubt that this archetype (of the sādā texts) in turn was excerpted and compiled from the Pahlavi Avesta Mss. We can hardly conceive of the Vendidād of the Sassanians without the Pahlavi translation. As a direct proof of this may be instanced numerous Avesta glosses of the Pahlavi translation which have crept into the Avesta texts of the Vendidād sādā." (*Prolegomena*, p. xix)

(b) "The archetype of the Vendidād Sādes, as also of the Yasn and Vispered Sādes, was probably originally composed from the Pahlavi Avesta for liturgical use. and thus it becomes clear by numerous quotations from the Avesta, belonging to the Pahlavi Commentary, have found their way into the text of the Vendidād Sādes." (*AV.-Phl. Studies*, p. 23)

But when Prof. Geldner says this, he overlooks the important fact, observed by himself (as noted above), that the avesta sādā texts contain materials which are wanting in the Avesta with translations. Further, Prof. Geldner himself observes :

(a) "My endeavour has been as far as possible to free the text from these embarrassing additions (Avesta glosses as noted above), and in this endeavour I had the support principally of the Persian manuscripts which are almost free from glosses." (*Prolegomena*, p. xlvi)

(b) "The text which the Persian Vendidad Sades supply is free from many disturbing glosses with which the text of the Indian MSS. is laden." (*AV.-Phl Studies*, p. 24)

This clearly shows that the 'disturbing glosses' might have been added to the sâda text in *India*, from the Avesta texts with translations. A similar revision seems to have been made also in Iran. Prof. Geldner observes (*AV.-Studies*, p. 23) :

"... ..a revision of the Vendidad Sade appears to have been made in Persia in the 16th century, or earlier, with the aid of other Pahlavi-Avesta MSS."

These observations, based on a very careful and critical examination of the extant Avesta manuscripts, made by an eminent expert, clearly prove that :

(a) the two groups of the Avesta manuscripts are quite distinct, and well defined, *both in Iran and in India*; and these two groups are derived from independent sources.

(b) the manuscripts of the sâda texts, *written in Iran as well as in India*, descend from the common source, one archetype.

These facts clearly establish two independent, concurrent traditions. These two traditions run independently, concurrently, *both in Iran and India*. This shows that these traditions must have been handed down from Sasanian times. These facts clearly lend support to our contention that there were two transmissions—written and oral—of the Avesta texts in Sasanian times; and that these two transmissions are represented by two distinct classes of the extant manuscripts of the Avesta.

PUBLICATION OF THE AVESTA TEXTS IN THE TIME OF KING HUSRAV I. DEN-DIPĪRĪH : RELIGIOUS WRITING, THE AVESTA SCRIPT

As noted above, according to the Dēnkart 'the time of Husrav I was considered of great importance for the Zoroastrian priests... ..' (Bialey, p. 157) Vēh-sāpuhr, the chief priest of King Husrav I, is mentioned in connection with the publication of the sacred texts. Dastūr Manuscuhr, the chief priest of the Zoroastrians in Iran in the ninth Century A.C., in his first epistle to the people of Sīrkān, says that 'Precisely according to the instructions of the true Dasturs, on the good evidence, a certain text was published to the educated of each district, chiefly the magians' (Bailey, p. 173). Further on, Dastur Manuscihr says (*ibid.*) :

"An example of this is : from the instructions given by Vēh-sāpuhr of immortal soul the chief Mobad, and also the other mobads of Ohrmazd, it was not deemed lawful afterwards to change what had been done nor to invalidate the statements of that body of dasturs... .."

"It was so that Vēh-sāpuhr in the council of Husrav the king of kings son of Kavāt of immortal soul, published the twenty one divisions, so that it was agreed to, as it had been decreed. Afterwards they assented to so many decrees of his."

This is perhaps a direct reference to the publication of the Avesta texts (*in Avesta script*), which had been handed down by the written and the oral transmissions, under the leadership of Vēh-sāpuhr.

We have a number of inscriptions, coin-legends, and other documents, belonging to the Achaemenian, Parthian, and early Sasanian periods; but there is not a single trace of the present Avesta script in any of these documents. Coupled with this, there are reasons to believe that formerly Avesta text were written down in the script, which was, unlike the present Avesta script, defective, particularly in its vowel system. Hence, it is rightly suggested that at one time the Avesta texts were written in the Pahlavi script, which is so defective... see Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, p. xxxi; Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, p. 12. This fact supports the Pahlavi tradition of the written transmission of the Avesta texts. It appears that the present fully developed Avesta script was specially invented, in the time of King Husrav I, for writing down the Avesta texts,¹ which were handed down by both, the written (in Phl. script) and the oral transmissions.

With Prof. Bailey (pp. 172-73), we assume that for this special publication of the Avesta texts, a new script, with fully developed vowel system, was invented from the Pārsik script, employed in the Sasanian Pārsik inscriptions and the Sasanian coin-legends, and also from the existing Pahlavi script, which is derived from the Pārsik script, and which is employed in the Zoroastrian book-Pahlavi literature. And this new script is the present Avesta script.

This new script... the Avesta script..... is referred to as *Den-dīpīrīh* 'the religious writing' or 'the religious script' in the Pahlavi text of Sahrīhā i Erān 4 (Bailey, pp. 153, 170). The Arabic writers also refer to the *Den-Dīpīrīh* as one of the Iranian scripts (Bailey, pp. cit.). On the views of the Arabic writers on the Sasanian alphabets, see J. M. Unvala, *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 11 (1928) pp. (78-111; C. Inostrantsev, *ibid.* No. 27 (1935) pp. 48-57.

THE RITUAL TEXTS WERE MEMORIZED EVEN AFTER THEY WERE COMMITTED TO WRITING.

An important fact may here be noted. The reading and writing of the ritual texts were not to replace the practice of memorizing them. Even in the 9th century A. C., the compiler of the Dēnkart refers to both the written and the oral transmissions of the sacred texts; and clearly declares the oral transmission, and memorizing the sacred texts more beneficial than the written word.

According to the Dēnkart Book V, a Christian named Boxt-Māri,² asks several questions in religious matters to the Zoroastrian High Priest, most probably Aturfarnabay son of Farrox-zāt, the compiler of the Dēnkart. One of the questions is (*Dēnkart*, ed. Madan p. 455. 10-13; ed. Sanjana Vol. X, p. 2.9-12; cf. Bailey, p. 162) :

1. For a quite contrary view, see 'The Origin of the Alphabet', by Mr. S. J. Bulsara, in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, pp. 378-404.

1. On this name, see *D. J. Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1943, pp. 111-113; and cf. Bailey, p. 162 foot-note.

yazat en dēn cē rāy pa ēvāc-l ī an-āsnāk ī nihuftak ī apastāk nām guft u cē rāy pa nipistak nē bavandak hangārt bī pa gōwisn varm kartan framūt.

“Why did Yazat proclaim the Religion in the unknown, mysterious language called Avesta ? and why did He not think (it) by oral tradition ?”

For ‘cē’ Bailey writes ‘avē’; but the text.....both editions——clearly gives MMN : ‘cē’. Bailey translates : ‘—— and for it (God) did not excogitate a complete written text... ..’. My translation differs only slightly, but in essential point, from that of Bailey. He construes *bavandak* as adjective qualifying *nipistak*; but I think the context clearly shows that *bavandak* is complement of the verb *hangārt*. Moreover, the answer to this question is quite clear (*Denkart*, ed. Madan p. 459.8—p. 460.8; ed. Sanjana Vol. X p. 9.7—p. 10.14; Bailey, pp. 162-163) :

ēn mñor u dēn apastāk harvisp ākāsīh cigōn vēh mēnōkān nazd-brahmihātar pa hamāk āvāc ī gēhānikān ōgōn vitimāsik ī vitart hac harv ayāpakih ī martōmān u zand pā ēvēnak-l guft ēstēt pa miyān ī gēhān āsnaktār x at apastāk vazurk daxsak hast pa āwurt ī zartust hac ōhrmazd.....

u pa-ic rāstihā ō hamāk kustak niyāzakihā u hāvand āyisn ī apastāk u miyānak [i] gēhān uzvānik āsnākihā frestisnih-ic ī zand pur-bōj sn paitāk andar katāmyān - c-ē u ēn māer u hamāk ī uzvān k nipista ōgōn framūt ō bunīk nipistak nun-ic frahist pa-c nipēkihā pāt ēstēt cigōn andar ākāsān paitāk bē varm kartan sūt vas u-s sutakih pa yazisn stāyisn ī ōi ramān ēvak vēs dānist ī cisān hac-is ō-c ān ī ōgōn zufrihā sax an u ēvēn rāstihā u a-vast-rangihā (’pstn) apaspārtan sāyast ī dāstāstān bun gōwisin frēh hac nipēsisnik vasihā u pa-c apārik vas cim zivandak gōwisnik sax an hac ān ī pa nipist mātakvartar hangārtan cimik.

“This maor and the Avesta of the Religion are all knowledge, like good spiritual beings they are very nearly concealed, in all languages of the people of this world they are so astonishing that they are beyond comprehension of men. And the Zand is declared in (such) a way (that) in the midst of (the people of) the world it is more current, (and) in the world better known. The Avesta itself is the great proof of (the fact that) it is brought by Zartust from ohrmazd... ..

“ And equally, coming of the Avesta, verily, with truthfulness unto all regions, as needed, and also (equally sending of the Zand, in the midst of the world, with oral knowledge, is full of salvation (as is) evident unto any person.

“ And it is so commanded to write this māor of Religion, and all that is oral, in the basic text (that) even now many things also have been preserved in the books; but to memorize is a great profit. Its profitableness is in giving knowledge unto the people about worship and praise; one is great knowing of things therefrom; also verily it is possible (thereby) to transmit, with truthfulness and without perversion, such profound word and customs, which are decisions and blessings; the basic utterances are far beyond the written words; and also an account of many other reasons, it is reasonable to consider the living spoken word more important than the written.”

According to this statement, the Zand was better known than the Avesta; the memorizing was regarded very beneficial; and the living spoken word was more important than the written word.

In tis connection, it is worth-while to quote also from the Pahlavi text of *Husrav u Retak* 8-10. In this interesting book, Xvas-ārzuk, the page, gives an account of his studies in the Frahangastān. He says (Bailey p. 160) :

“In due time I was given to the School and in my study I was very diligent. I memorized the Yast, the Hāoōxt, the Bayān, and the Vidēvdāt like a herbad and passage by passage heard the Zand. My scribal ability was such that I am a good writer, and swift writer, with keen understanding, successful, skilful, and learned.”

This clearly shows that ability of reading and writing does not preclude the practice of memorizing the sacred texts. The ability of memorizing the sacred texts, and of learning the Zand thereof, is regarded as a special accomplishment of the *Ehrpat*.

BHAVABHŪTI AND UMBEKA

By

Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., Nagpur

One of the controversial questions which still await satisfactory solution is whether the Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti and the Mīmāṃsaka Umbeka were identical or different. Several scholars who have dealt with this problem have come to different conclusions. It is therefore proposed to deal with it here in the light of accumulated material.

It was the late Shankar Pandurang Pandit, who, in the introduction to this edition of the *Gaṇḍavaho*, first drew attention to the statements in the colophons of two Acts of the *Mālatīmādhava*, which implied the identity of these two great writers. The *Mālatīmādhava* is well-known as a play of Bhavabhūti. In the *prastāvanā* (prologue) of it the poet has given us much information about himself and his ancestors. It is clearly stated therein that the play was written by the poet Bhavabhūti, who had the title of Śrīkaṇṭha. Similar statements occur in the other two plays of Bhavabhūti viz. the *Mahāvīracharita* and the *Uttararāmacharita*. In the colophons of several Acts of all these plays or at least at the end of them, the name of Bhavabhūti is mentioned as their author. But in the colophon of the sixth Act of a Ms. of the *Mālatīmādhava*, about 500 years old, which he had obtained from M. V. Lele of Indore, S. P. Pandit noticed Umbekāchārya mentioned as the author of the play. Umbeka was further described therein as *Śrī-Kumārīlasvāmi-prasāda-prāpta-vāg-vaibhava* i.e. as one who has obtained his literary power through the favour of the illustrious Kumārīlasvāmin. In the colophon of the third Act in the same Ms. the play was stated to have been written by a pupil of Kumārila. On the strength of these two statements, S. P. Pandit first propounded the theory that Bhavabhūti and Umbeka were identical and that Bhavabhūti was a pupil of the great Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila. In the Preface to his edition of the *Mālatīmādhava*, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar conceded that this view did not conflict chronologically with any known fact. He, however, felt certain difficulties in accepting it, because no other Ms. of the play collated by him contained such a statement and also because Bhavabhūti does not appear to speak of Mīmāṃsā as a subject which he had studied, though he makes mention of some other branches of knowledge. Again, Bhavabhūti makes no mention of his *guru* Kumārila, from whom he is said to have obtained his *vāg-vaibhava*. For all these reasons Dr. Bhandarkar felt suspicious about the statements, but he did not reject them entirely. He left their verification to future research.¹ Since then two works of Umbeka viz. his commentary called *Tātparyaṭīkā*² on the *Śloka-vārttika* of Kumārila and another³ on the *Bhāvanāvivēka* of Maṇḍana have been published. Besides, references to Umbeka and his views occurring in several works such as Kumārila's commentary

1. *Mālatīmādhava*, edited by R. G. Bhandarkar, Preface, p. ix.

2. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 13.

3. Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavan Texts, No. VI.

on the *Tatvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita,¹ the *Chitsukhī* and its commentary called *Nayanaprasādinī*,² Rāmākṛishṇa's commentary called *Yuktisneha-prapūraṇī*³ on the *Śāstradīpikā* of Pārthasarathimīśra and Śrīdeva's *Syādvādaratnākara*,⁴ have also become known. After studying them several learned scholars such as M. M. Kuppasvami Sastri,⁵ M. M. Ganganath Jha⁶ and M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane⁷ have accepted the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. Dr. Kunhan Raja, on the other hand in the course of a rambling discussion of several controversial subjects, has expressed his opinion about this problem differently in different places. Thus, he says in one place, 'Identification of Bhavabhūti with Umbeka is a bare baseless assumption.'⁸ But elsewhere he writes, 'The entire question of the identity of Umbeka with Bhavabhūti must also remain in a state of suspense until more reliable evidences come forth.'⁹ In View of this divergence of opinion, it has become necessary to discuss the problem again. Dr. Raja has provided ample material for a critical examination of it in the learned introduction to his edition of Umbeka's commentary on the *Ślokavārttika*.

There are two allied questions: (i) Was Umbeka a pupil of Kumārila? If he was not, what is his date? and (ii) Were Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical? I shall not discuss the first of these in detail. Since Umbeka has discussed several readings in the *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila and the *Bhāvanāviveka* of Maṇḍana,¹⁰ he must have flourished some time after not only Kumārila but also Maṇḍana. He could not therefore have been a pupil of Kumārila. The lower limit of his date may be fixed as A.D. 775. The earliest writer who mentions Umbeka's views is Kamalaśīla, the pupil of the famous Buddhist philosopher Śāntarakṣita. In his commentary on Śāntarakṣita's *Tatvasaṅgraha*, Kamalaśīla cites and criticises the views of one Ubeyaka about the *svataḥprāmāṇya* of cognitions. This Ubeyaka appears to be identical with the *Mīmāṃsaka* Umbeka.¹¹ Kamalaśīla, who was a pupil of Śāntarakṣita, is placed in the period A.D. 800 to 825. Umbeka whose views he criticises could not, therefore, have flourished later than A.D. 800. The period of Umbeka's literary activity may therefore be taken to be A.D. 775 to 800.

Were Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical?

We shall next take up the question of the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. It is now agreed on the evidence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and other works that Bhavabhūti flourished in the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. He could not therefore be identical with Umbeka who flouri-

1. Gackwad's Oriental Series, Nos. 30 and 31.

2. pub. by the Nirṇayasāgar Press p. 265.

3. pub. by the Nirṇayasāgar Press, pp. 2, 14, 30, 48, etc.

4. See extract in Dr. Kunhan Raja's Intro. to his edition of Bhaṭṭaputra Jayamiśra's com. on the *Ślokavārttika*, p. 12.

5. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, p. 411.

6. See his Introduction to the *Bhāvanāviveka*, Part II, p. 4.

7. See his Intro. to the *Uttararāmacharita*, Third Ed., p. 26.

8. *Tātparyāṭikā*, Introduction, p. xxxiv.

9. *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. xxxix and xl.

11. It may be noted in this connection that the name *Umbeka* has been corrupted into *Omvaka* in the *Syādvāda-ratnākara* of Śrīdeva. See Kunhan Raja's Intro. to his ed. of Jayamiśra's com on the *Ślokavārttika*.

shed at least half a century later. Still, we must also examine critically some other arguments which are advanced to prove their identity. They may be stated as follows:—

(i) As stated before, a Ms. of the *Mālatīmādhava*, about 500 years old, states that the play was composed by Umbeka. From the *prastāvanā* of it, however, it is clear that it was a work of Bhavabhūti. Hence Bhavabhūti and Umbeka are identical.

This argument has not much force. As Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has stated, he did not notice a similar statement anywhere in the MSS. collated by him, which came from different parts of the country from Kashmir to Maisur. We cannot rely on the evidence of a single MS., setting aside the combined testimony of so many other MSS. In his works Bhavabhūti nowhere mentions Umbeka as another name of his, and Umbeka also nowhere tells us that he was also known as Bhavabhūti. We can conceive of no reason why they should both be silent about their other names if they had been current. The testimony of other writers who flourished centuries after them has not much worth. Besides, Bhavabhūti was a native of Vidarbha. His ancestors lived in Padmapura which was situated in Vidarbha. It has been identified with the village Padampur in the Bhandara District of Vidarbha. The names of Bhavabhūti's ancestors viz Mahākavi, Gopāla and Nilakaṇṭha are of Sanskrit origin like those of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the copper-plate grants of the time found in Vidarbha. The name Umbeka appears to be Dravidian. The identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka appears doubtful in view of this difference in the types of their names.

(ii) Another reason advanced to prove the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka is the occurrence of the following verse in the beginning¹ of the *Tātparyāṭikā* of Umbeka, which is a commentary on the *Śloka-vārttika* of Kumārila:—

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मो
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

This very verse occurs in the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti. From his plays we know that Bhavabhūti was in the habit of repeating his verses in more than one work. So he may have repeated this verse in the beginning of his commentary on the *Śloka-vārttika* in order to tell his contemporary captious critics that he was confident that his philosophical works, like his plays, would be appreciated by people of other lands or of future times. The repetition of this verse in the beginning of the *Śloka-vārttika-tātparyāṭikā* proves the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka.

This argument also is not unassailable. So far only one MS. of the *Tātparyāṭikā* of Umbeka has been discovered from which the commentary has been edited by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri and Dr. Kunhan Raja in the Madras University Sanskrit Series. The top portion of the first leaf of the MS. where this verse is said to have occurred is now much

1. *Tātparyāṭikā*. p. 1.

damaged. The first line is completely lost. Even in the second and third lines some syllables are missing. From a calculation of the syllables in other lines, Dr. Raja concedes that there was enough space for the verse in the first line, but he doubts if it actually occurred there for the following reasons:—(i) It would leave no space for the *maṅgala* which must have occurred in the beginning of the commentary: and (ii) This verse is extremely inappropriate in this place. Why should Bhavabhūti be apologetic in writing a work on *Mīmāṃsā*? This verse appears quite appropriate in the beginning of his play if he wrote it after his work on the *Śāstras*. For these reasons Dr. Raja thinks that this verse may at first have been written in the margin by some one who knew the tradition about the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka and it may have later been incorporated in the text of the commentary by some scribe.¹

We do not share Dr. Raja's doubts regarding the occurrence of the verse *ye nāma* etc. in the first line of Umbeka's *Tātparyāṭikā*. We may well believe the statement of the first editor Pandit S. K. Rāmanāth Sāstrī who made a transcript of it for the edition. We do not also think that the verse could not have occurred in the first line since it leaves no space for a *maṅgalaśloka*. All writers do not write *maṅgalaśloka*s in the beginning of their works. There is no *maṅgala* in the beginning of the *Bhāvanāvivēka* of Maṇḍana. As for the argument that the verse appears inappropriate in the beginning of the *Tātparyāṭikā*, we may say that like Bhavabhūti, Umbeka may have provoked the criticism of his contemporaries. He was a great *Mīmāṃsaka*. On several points he held views which were opposite to those of the earlier writers as appears clear from the citations in the commentary *Yuktisnehaprapūṇāṇi* on Pārthasārathimiśra's *Śāstra-dīpikā*.² It is not unlikely that he aroused much antagonism to himself by his criticism of such great writers as Śabara and Kumārila. He was, however, not a man to be cowed down. It should, therefore, be no matter for surprise if he wanted to tell his contemporary critics that his works were not intended for them. They may be appreciated by people of other lands or by future generations. He must have found Bhavabhūti's verse *ye nāma kechidiha* etc. quite suitable for expressing his feelings. So he seems to have adopted it instead of composing a new one for the purpose. As the verse did not contain the name of Bhavabhūti, it was equally appropriate in the case of Umbeka. It may be noted in this connection that Umbeka cited another verse viz.

गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः ।

उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥

from the *Mahābhārata*³ in support of his criticism of the views of Śabara and Kumārila. Dr. Raja has cited some other instance of commentators borrowing verses from earlier writers and using them for their own purpose. The verse

चतुर्मुखमुखाभोजवन हंसवधूर्मम ।

मानस रमतां नित्यं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

which occurs in the beginning of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa* has, for instance, been used as a *maṅgala-bhāṣya*.⁴ Several instances of the

1. See his Introd. to the *Tātparyāṭikā*, pp. xxx f.

2. See the references in n. 6 above.

3. Udyogaparvan, 178, 48; Śāntiparvan, 140, 48 (with the third quarter as दयदोभवतिशासनम्. Also, ibid, 57, 7. I am indebted for these references to Dr. Kane.

4. *Tātparyāṭikā*, UIntrod., p. xxvii.

same type can also be cited from inscriptions. The verse which

नमस्तुङ्गशिरश्चुम्बिचन्द्रचामरचारवे ।

त्रैलोक्यनगरारम्भभूलस्तम्भाय शम्भवे ॥

occurs in the beginning of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* is also noticed in the Hadali inscription, dated, Śaka 1006 of the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla II.¹ The identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka cannot therefore be proved on the evidence of the occurrence of the verse *ye nāma kechid iha* etc. in the beginning of the *Tātparyāṭikā* of Umbeka.

Another argument advanced by Dr. Raja to disprove the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka has not, however, much force. 'In the whole of the three works of Bhāvabhūti', says Dr. Raja, 'I have not been able to discover anything that can be called a partiality for *Mīmāṃsā*. . . If at all there is anything, it is a sort of partiality for *Vedānta*.² He therefore thinks that since Umbeka was a great *Mīmāṃsaka* he could not have been identical with Bhavabhūti, who was a *Vedāntin*. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar also has expressed the same view. Dr. Kane, on the other hand, who accepts the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka, explains away the difficulty by supposing that Bhavabhūti *alias* Umbeka was a pupil of Kumārila in early life and that in later life he leaned towards *Vedānta*.³ Dr. Raja's argument is not, however, quite cogent. It is true that Bhavabhūti does not parade his knowledge of the *Mīmāṃsā*, but he could not have been ignorant of that system. He came of a learned family of the Śrotriyas. His forefathers were always engaged in the study and teaching of the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas. One of them had performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. Bhavabhūti, who was born in such a pious and learned family, could not have been ignorant of *Mīmāṃsā*.⁴ As a matter of fact, it is not necessary to make a conjecture in this respect; for Bhavabhūti describes himself in the *prastāvanās* of his plays as पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञः.⁵ In this expression *vākya* is taken to refer to *Mīmāṃsā* which has laid down rules for the interpretation of Vedic passages. In the verse *yad Vedādhyayanam* etc. which mentions his knowledge of the different branches of Sanskrit learning, *Vedādhyayana* probably stands for *Mīmāṃsā* as *Upanishadadhyayana* does for *Vedānta*. That no works on *Mīmāṃsā* written by Bhavabhūti have yet come to light is an *argumentum ex silentio* which is not conclusive. We may not in this connection that we have, so far, not come across any work by Bhavabhūti on the *Tantrasāstra*,⁶ but that he wrote on that *Sāstra* also is clear from the following verses which occur in the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta.⁷ While controverting the view that one cannot attain the position of a *Guru* without *dikshā* (initiation), *abhisheka* etc. Abhinava says,

असदेतदिति प्राङ्गुर्वस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।

श्री सोमानन्दकल्याणभवभूतिपुरोगमाः ।

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 32.

2. *Tātparyāṭikā*, Introd., pp. xxv and xxvi.

3. Introd. to the *Uttararāmacharita*, p. xiv.

4. He uses the term अर्थवाद and notes a passage from Śabara's *Bhāṣhya* as shown by Dr. Kane.

5. *Uttararāmacharita* (ed. by P. V. Kane), p. 4.

6. He has, however used some terms of the *Tantrasāstra* in the *Mālatīmādhava*, Act IX, v. 53.

7. I am indebted to my friend Prof.... G. T. Deshpande for drawing my attention to this passages.

तथा हि त्रिशिकाशास्त्रविवृतौ तेऽभ्यधुर्बुधाः ॥

This shows that Bhavabhūti wrote a work on the *Tantrasāstra*. He may similarly have written some work on *Mīmāṃsā* also. This is not therefore a cogent argument to disprove his identity with Umbeka.

(iii) The third argument advanced to prove the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka is that Chitsukhāchārya appears to suggest it in the following passage from his *Tattvapradīpikā*¹ तस्माच्छास्त्रं तत्त्वविज्ञानाद संनिकृष्टे बुद्धिरिति लक्षणमलक्षणम् । तथा आप्तवाक्यं शब्द प्रमाणमिति नैयायिकानामपि ।

आप्तोदीरितवाक्येषु मालतीमाधवादिषु ।

व्यभिचारान्न तद्युक्तमाप्तत्वस्यानिरुक्तिः ॥

स्वकपोलकाल्पित मालतीमाधवादिवाक्येषु प्रामाण्याभावादतिव्याप्तिः । न हि पुना आप्त एव सन् नाटकनाटिकादि प्रबन्धविश्वनामात्रेणानाप्तो भवति भवभूतिः । उक्तं चैतदुन्वेकेन । यदाक्तेऽपि कस्मैचिदुधदिशति नत्वयाननुभूतार्थविषयं वाक्यं प्रयोक्तव्यम् । यथा अङ्गुल्युत्प्रेक्षया हस्तिपाशशालमास्ते इति । तत्रैवैव्याभिचारः स्फुटः ।

In this passage Chitsukhāchārya, while finding fault with the definition of the *Śabda-pramāṇa* given by the Naiyāyikas viz. आत्मवाक्यं शब्द प्रमाणम् points out that it suffers from the fault of *ativyāpti*. To prove his point, Chitsukha cites the instance of Bhavabhūti. Since Bhavabhūti has written on the *Sāstras*, he may be regarded as *āpta* or trustworthy. But in that case what he has said in his plays like the *Mālatīmādhava* will also have to be taken as authoritative; for he will not cease to be *āpta* merely because he wrote imaginary plays like that work. This is also stated by Umbeka. 'An *Āpta*', says Umbeka, 'tells people that they should not state what is not within their actual experience. If somebody says, for instance, that a hundred herds of elephants are standing on the tip of a man's finger, the falsity of his statement will be self-evident.'...In this passage Chitsukha, by citing a passage from Umbeka immediately after referring to Bhavabhūti, implies that the two are identical. And this is made explicit in the commentary Nayanaprasādinī : भवभूतिरुन्वेकः । एतदेव ग्रन्थान्तरस्थेन तद्वचनेन संमतयति (Bhavabhūti and Umbeka are identical. This is shown by a statement from another work of his i.e. of Bhavabhūti.)

The passage from the *Chitsukhi* has not been understood properly. Had Chitsukha meant to convey that Bhavabhūti and Umbeka were identical, he would have expressed himself in some such words as the following:—उक्तञ्च तेनैव. His commentator, no doubt, understands his words in that manner and makes the meaning explicit, but he is a very late author. His words only indicate that in his time, it was believed that Bhavabhūti and Umbeka were identical.

We have thus seen that there is no valid reason for identifying Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. They flourished in different times. Neither of them gives any indication in his works that he bore the other name. Their names, besides, suggest that they belonged to different parts of the country. They must therefore be regarded as different.

It is not difficult to surmise how this belief in their identity originated. The citation of *ye nāma kechid iha etc.* in the beginning of Umbeka's *Tāt-*

1. Nirṇayasāgar Press ed., p.... 265.

paryāṭikā seems to have misled people into thinking that Umbeka was the same as Bhavabhūti, who wrote the verse in this *Mālatīmādhava*. Again, the passage in the *Tātparyastikā* where Umbeka has cited the verse गुरो-रप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः । उत्पद्यप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥ contains a refutation of the views of Kumārila. So it was supposed that by citing that verse, Umbeka was seeking to support his refutation of his *guru's* views. Kumārila was thus supposed to have been the *guru* of Umbeka. Kumārila's pupil Maṇḍana was a famous Mīmāṃsaka. Umbeka, who was believed to be a pupil of Kumārila, was equally reputed. So he came to be identified with Maṇḍana. This belief is noticed in the verse *Umbeka ity-abhihi-tasya hi tasya loke* etc. of Vidyāraṇya's *Śaṅkaradigvijaya*¹. Further Vidyāraṇya describes that Maṇḍana, after his defeat by Śaṅkara, became a sanyāsin and adopted the name of Sureśvara.² So Maṇḍana, Sureśvara, Umbeka and Bhavabhūti came to be regarded as identical. In many verses Vidyāraṇya gives *Viśvarūpa* as another name of Maṇḍana.³ So one and the same individual was supposed to have borne five names viz. Maṇḍana, Sureśvara, Viśvarūpa, Umbeka and Bhavabhūti. This has caused endless confusion in the history of Indian philosophy.

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion has made it plain that the the Sanskrit playwright Bhavabhūti flourished in a different age and was a different person from the *Mīmāṃsaka* Umbeka.

-
1. *Śrīmatcchhaṅkaradigvijaya* (Ānandaśrama Sanskrit Series) VII, 116.
 2. *Ibid.*, Y, 104.
 3. *Ibid.*, VIII, 63 etc.

SOME NEW COLLECTIONS OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

By

Dr. V. Raghavan, *Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University*

No explanation is needed to speak of a matter of such basic importance in our research as the Manuscripts. However I should say why I have been prompted to speak now on this subject. The opportunities I recently had to visit different parts of the country and numerous centres of Sanskrit study, under modern as well as traditional set-up, helped me to know of many new collections of Sanskrit manuscripts; and by speaking about them on this occasion, I hope to create further interest in the question of Sanskrit manuscript collections in the country and the need to undertake a comprehensive survey of these.

By new collections I mean those in addition to the ones known to me during my work all these years on the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. After the publication of Vol. I of this work, in which about 400 catalogues and lists used therein are mentioned, a certain number of further catalogues and lists, printed and handwritten, of public and private collections, in India and abroad, have been collected. Over and above these again, about 20,000 manuscripts in European libraries were noticed by me during my European tour. Similarly, during the Sanskrit Commission's tours, about 50 new collections, big and small, came to light in this country, and being specially interested in manuscripts, I took care to note down whatever information I could gather on manuscripts collections. The tours of the Sanskrit Commission cannot of course be taken as anything like a survey of the whole country with special reference to manuscripts collections. What we saw in the course of our work, or by myself going a little out of the way during the work, touches therefore only a small part of the collections lying all over the country. Attention is drawn to these collections recently discovered, however proportionately small in number they be, because whatever information is gathered about manuscripts will form a contribution towards any scheme that might be undertaken for a countrywide survey of these.

First, it must be mentioned that even collections in public institutions already known, there are now fresh additions, sometimes very large as in the Sanskrita Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta; Sarasvati Bhavan, Banaras; the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad; the Bharatiya Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona; and the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

The total number of manuscripts in the Sanskrita Sahitya Parishat is now about 10,000, of which about 7000 have been listed. The total in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, is 2792, including those already catalogued. The new additions in the Calcutta Sanskrit College number 906, of which 418 were said to have been listed. It was reported that the Santiniketan collection, the South Indian manuscripts in which had been transferred a few years back to the Adyar Library, has again grown to about, 10,000. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has a private collection

of a 1000 manuscripts; according to him there is also a small collection in the Agartala Raj Library at Tipperah.

In Assam, the State was giving some help to Sri Manoranjan Sastri of the Sanskrit College at Nalbari, about 40 miles from Gauhati, to collect manuscripts and house them at that College. He has in this collection 1502 manuscripts of which 500 have so far been examined and described; there is here a manuscript of the Kāśyapaprokta Āṅgīrasa Dharma Śāstra in 4000 granthas; there are different texts of Dharma ascribed to Āṅgīrasa, but this one in which Kāśyapa figures as the speaker seems to be yet another text and deserves to be examined. Another noteworthy manuscript here is the Nītilatāṅkura with an Assamese version. A third Ms. reported is a fragment of seven leaves of an anthology by one Nandana. I may point out that among the palm-leaf manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal, there is a complete manuscript of Nanda's anthology called Prasanna-sāhityaratnākara (see H. P. Sastri's Catalogue, p. 211, no. 1574).

On the Kāmākhyā hill, Sri Panchanan Sharma, B.A., belonging to a family of hereditary Tantrikas and endeavouring to organise a Bhairavi Tantrik Union for the study of Tantra, has about 200 Tantrik manuscripts with him; in the few that he brought out, I could identify Kāmākhyā Tantra and Uttara Rudrayāmala. These manuscripts are on paper and on *sāchīpatra*.

In Gauhati proper, there are manuscripts in two institutions, the Kamarupa Anusandhana Samiti located in the Museum, and in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam. The former has now only 50 manuscripts, as its more historically valuable manuscripts have been transferred to the latter Department. The latter has 1200 manuscripts of which 100 represent Sanskrit works; among these last is a variant version of the Sanskrit Dharmapurāṇa.

Orissa had many revelations for me. The Museum collection was previously known; besides that, in Cuttack, the Ravenshaw College has about 1000 manuscripts. Sri Kalicharan Patnaik, Actor, Bihar Academy of Music, Dance and Drama, has several music manuscripts. Dr. Karunakar Kar who has presented about 100 manuscripts to the Utkal University, has with himself 30 manuscripts, from some of which he has prepared editions, but has unfortunately no help to publish them. At Puri Sri Kaviraj Vanamali Das, Secretary, All-Orissa Ayurvedic Conference, has some manuscripts. Sri Jayanta Misra, Assistant, Civil Court, Puri who is interested in manuscript search, has 10 manuscripts. The most valuable collection is the one in the Raghunandan Pustakalaya of the Jagannāth Aitihāsik Gaveśaṇa Samiti, Puri; there are 1267 Sanskrit manuscripts here and some of these are interesting for their illustrations also. Some of the manuscripts noted by me here are: Narapatijayacaryā in Oriya script and with etchings; Nityaguptacūḍāmaṇi of Jagannāthadāsa in Oriya script; Nityācārapradīpa Orissa script; Gītagovinda, in palm-leaf and Devanagari, whose etched leaves, when arranged, form into a picture of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and Sakhī standing in a maṇḍapa; Camatkāracandrikā of Raghunātha; Bhāṣaratna of Kanada Tarkavāgīśa; Nāradapañcarātra with coloured drawings; Premarāmāyaṇa, the Sanskrit version of Tulasidas's Rāmacaritamānas; Nīlādrībhāgavata, palm-leaf in Oriya script; the manuscript Lohāñjana dealing with metallurgy which deserves to be examined further; so also Abhinaya-

candrikā by Maheśvara Mahāpatra; Bhāgavata, 9th Skandha, with drawings; Śilpaśāstra by Rāmacandra Mahāpātra which I was told was published by Mr. N. K. Bose through the Calcutta University; Viṣṇu-purāṇa in Devanagari script; and Siddhāntamālā; there are some works on Samaraśāstra, military science, in Sanskrit-cum-Oriya medium.

In Bihar, Sri Chandradhari Singhji of Madhubani had been making a collection of antiquities for quarter of a century, and now he has come forward to present this collection which is valued at one lakh of rupees to the Government. These antiquities include about 900 manuscripts. Buddhi Sagar Misra of Patna has manuscripts relating to alchemy etc.

The Sarasvati Bhavan, Banaras, which is the country's biggest public collection and stands now at 70,000, has had a recent accession of 3000. It is most interesting to know that the Bhavan has acquired a 12th century Bhāgavata manuscript in Bengali script.

In Allahabad, the Jha Institute collection has gone up to 4500, and Dr. Umesh Mishra's personal collection has now an addition of 1500 manuscripts.

Sri R. S. Tripathi, S. D. college, Cawnpore, has made a personal collection 200 strong, from villages around; he has some good works relating to Grammar, Dharmaśāstra and Mīmāṃsā.

The Lucknow University collection has had recent additions which include 250 Grantha manuscripts from the South. Sri Gopala Chandra Sinha, Lexicon Officer, has collected 400 manuscripts, now deposited in the newly founded Samskrita Parishat, Lucknow.

In Etawah, a large collection was reported as existing but kept inaccessible owing to mismanagement.

Ayodhya town seems to be a miniature Banaras in respect of manuscripts. The biggest single collection in Ayodhya which came to light is the one at the Rajagopala Pathasala, having not less than 5000 manuscripts, there is a manuscript of Nanditāḍhya's Chandas here.

Some of the Gurukuls established in Haradwar have manuscripts. The Kangri has about 300 manuscripts in 50 bundles in the top floor of their Library, and another 25 more in the Exhibition case in the Veda Mandir. The Jawlapur Gurukula Mahāvidyālaya has two paper manuscripts, the Nyāyadarśana with Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya, incomplete, and the Mīmāṃsādarśana with Śabara-Bhāṣya, incomplete. The Rishikula Visva Vidyalaya has 53 bundles of manuscripts. The Gurumandala Asram has 50 bundles of manuscripts.

In Delhi, the Sanskrit Department of the University has collected about 300 manuscripts.

Mathura town and Brindavan contain many collections; there is a family collection, of more than a thousand manuscripts, with Lālana-krishna Pāndya, Nagargalli, Mathura. This collection has an incomplete copy of a Ṛgveda-Bhāṣya ascribed to Rāvaṇa; there is a copy of Dayāśaṅkara's Prayogasāra, a dharma-nibandha in vogue among Gurjara Brahmins;

another of the Viśvaparakāśa quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu; also copies of Mantrārādhanaḍīpikā and Ananta's Prayogasāra. The Govardhana Samskrita Vidyālaya has more than a hundred manuscripts. The Gopala Mandir in Chatta Bazar has manuscripts in its Sarasvati Bhandar. The Māthura Caturveda Vidyālaya has some manuscripts. There are many other private collections with Brahman families in Mathura. At Brindavan, Damodara Gosvamin's Library has 200 manuscripts; the Rangalakshmi College in the Ranga Mandir, in South Indian set-up, has about 1000 manuscripts. In the Nimbārka Vidyālaya, Madanamohan Mandir and Radhamadhava Mandir, there are manuscripts. The Arya Samaj Gurukula here has 33 Persian and Indian manuscripts; the few in Sanskrit include a copy of the Rekhāgaṇita.

In the S. D. Gurukul, Jagadhari, (Bhishmanagar), there are 15 manuscripts. At Ambala, Paramananda Sastri, Sanskrit Pandit, S. A. Jain High School, has 14, manuscripts. At Kurukṣetra, the Gita Bhavana has 252 manuscripts, and its Librarian, Pt. Bhiksharam, has a personal collection of about 100 manuscripts; according to him Himachal Pradesh is a fruitful field for manuscript search. Sri Diwakar Datt Sharma, Editor of the Sanskrit journal *Divya Jyotis*, Simla, has a personal collection. At Rewari in Gurgaum (Gurugrama associated with Droṇācārya) many private collections are reported; this is a place near Delhi enroute Jaipur. In Khanna, near Ludhiana, the Sarasvati Mahavidyalaya has a few manuscripts; the Principal has a copy of the Madhyamanoramā on the Siddhāntakaumudī. Pt. Nathu Ram Sharma, Government Sanskrit College, Nabha, has some manuscripts. The V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur, has some more manuscripts, not included in their printed catalogue. There are about 15 manuscripts pertaining to Tantra in the S. D. Sanskrit College, Hoshiarpur. In Jullundar, the S. D. Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya has about four to five hundred manuscripts. A small collection is found in the Rajakiya Samskrita Mahavidyalaya in Kapurthala. The biggest collection in Amritsar is the one in the Santoshasar Pandit Sabha Mandir; the collection belonged originally to the late Pt. Ram Datt Sastri. Amritsar, famed as the Kasi of the North-West, has still many private collections in Pandit-houses. The Patiala Museum has some manuscripts. Sri J. L. Handoo, Sanskrit-Hindi Lecturer, Government College, Gurudaspur, has 200 Sarada manuscripts with him, and of these 25 are said to be rare.

In Bhasoli and Suketumandi States, manuscripts are reported.

At Bhadrawah, a place in the Jammu Division, there is a temple to Vāsuki and the priest here has a manuscript called Vāsuki Purāṇa, which is full of māntras and medicinal recipes for snake-bites.

In Jammu itself, the biggest collection is that in the Raghunatha Temple; but after the time of Stein's Catalogue of this collection, there have been additions. I noted a number of note worthy manuscripts, but as the library list does not distinguish the printed books from manuscripts, it becomes difficult to use this list. There is a manuscript of the Buddhistic Mahāyāna Sūtra called Mukuṭadhāraṇa from Ladakh written in Tibetan script.

The chief interest of Rajasthan lies in its numerous and large collections of manuscripts in the different State Libraries, in Jain establishments and in Pandit-families. In Jaipur city itself, there are private Pandit

collections. In the Sanskrit College here, there are about 200 manuscripts. The Pothikhana of the Palace is the biggest and most valuable collection which is perhaps over 5000 strong. It is a pity that this collection is not accessible to scholars. There is a show-room in the Palace where some of the manuscripts having illustrations are exhibited; the more noteworthy ones in this exhibition are a copy of Śārṅgadharapaddhati (anthology), a work called Nyāyacintāmaṇi, in palm-leaf and Bengali script and dated in Lakshmaṇasena era 433; Taptamudrākhaṇḍana in palm-leaf and Grantha (not Oriya script as wrongly noted in the label); Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkya, Piṅgalachandas, Vṛttacandrodaya, an illustrated Matsyapurāṇa, and a Devanagari paper manuscript of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa dated Sam. 1788. Comparable to the Pothikhana is the present public collection housed in the Rajasthan Puratattva Mandir, a recently started State Research Institute.; this collection has 5467 manuscripts of which about 4000 are in Sanskrit. In the house of Madhusudan Ojha, who was Curator of the Pothikhana, there are 50 manuscripts of old works. The Parvanīkar family has another private collection. The former State of Bundi has a collection. Brahmapuri, three miles from Jaipur, has private collections. At Nagaur, District Headquarters, between Jodhpur and Bikaner, there is a rich Jain collection, 3000 strong. At Sikar, there is a Mahavira Pustakalaya, which too has a Jain manuscript collection.

The Rajasthan Viśva Vidyāpīṭh, Udaipur, have prepared a survey of manuscripts of Rajasthan in Hindi, Rajasthani and Sanskrit, and have themselves collected about 800 manuscripts including those in Sanskrit.

There are about 300 Jain Mandirs in Rajasthan, and most of them have manuscripts. On a rough estimate, Rajasthan may be said to have two lakhs of manuscripts.

In Indore, the Foreign Department Library contains some manuscripts. In Rewa, according to information given by the Director of Education, there are three excellent collections of manuscripts. According to the same authority, in Datia near Jhansi, there is one manuscripts collection. In Gwalior, the Pandita Sabha has some manuscripts.

In Ujjain, we already know of the collection in the Scindia Oriental Institute. In the town itself there are reports of several private collections being available. Pt. Babalal Sukla, Sahitya Teacher in the Government Sanskrit College, Ujjain, has a personal collection of 250 manuscripts; mostly relating to Karmakāṇḍa.

In Nagpur, the University collection has now 5,000 manuscripts; a list has been printed only for 2500; the rest are being listed now. A new collection that I came to know here is the one at the Bhosala Samskrita Mahavidyalaya and Veda Sala. I examined this collection of about 500 manuscripts and some of the noteworthy works that I saw here are: Candrakalā Kāvya, Hanumannātakavivarāṇa (extending up to Sundara Kāṇḍa) and Haimaśakunta, a play in four acts by Miśra Prāṇanātha in which Muhammedans are featured as characters and some humour is also found. The collection which was formerly in the C. P. Historical Research Society is now in the Vidarbha Sahitya Sangh; there are 386 manuscripts here. There are also the two Palace collections, the junior Bhosala and Senior Bhosala collections, each having about 300 manuscripts.

In Yeotmal, Berar, the Saradasram (Dr. Y. K. Deshpande) has a collection of Sanskrit and Marathi manuscripts.

In Baroda, Pt. Badarinath Kasinath Jha, President, Samskrita Vidvat Sabha, has about 500 manuscripts, mostly of Nyāya works.

Ahmedabad needs a complete examination for there are many Jain collections in the city itself. According to Muni Punyavijayaji, these Jain Bhandars of Ahmedabad alone may contain about 60,000 manuscripts. In Muniji's control alone there are 5000 manuscripts. In his Upāśraya, I saw two interesting old manuscripts, both in palm-leaf, ink and Devanagari, one of the Viśeṣāvaśyaka-mahābhāṣya, a Jeselmere manuscript, of Śilāditya's time. 10th century, and a super-commentary on Dharmottara copied for Āmradeba of Gwalior in Sam. 1116.

The Gujarat Vidya Sabha collection now stands at 5460 manuscripts. The small collection that was at Brahmachari Wadi is now deposited in this Sabha. In Svami Narayana Samstha, there are 100 manuscripts of Sanskrit, Hindi and Gujarathi works.

In Bombay, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's collection contains 1300 manuscripts. Muni Jinavijayaji has a precious manuscript of Abhinavagupta's Locana, which is perhaps the oldest paper manuscript of that important work. The Kaivalyadham, Lonavala, has 68 bundles of manuscripts.

In Poona, the Bharatiya Itihasa Samshodhan Mandal has now 15,000 manuscripts and a tabular list of these is now being printed. The manuscripts gathered at the Deccan College Research Institute now number 13,000. A second-hand bookseller in Poona has about 300 manuscripts; one of the valuable manuscripts he had and which has been purchased by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is that of the anthology Śārngadharapaddhati. Sri Abhyankar Sastri has privately 25 manuscripts, partly at Poona and partly at Satara; 5 of these are works not registered by Aufrecht and these rare ones include a hitherto unpublished commentary on the Paribhāṣenduśekhara.

In Andhra, at Vizagapatam, there are about 400 paper and palm-leaf manuscripts in the house 'Daba Gardens' of Sri A. V. Bhujanga Rao; these are mostly in Mantra-Tantra and include copies of Cidambararahasya, Sudarśana Saṁhitā (-paṭala) and Rudrayāmala. In Rajahmundry, the number of manuscripts in the Andhra Historical Research Society is 1400, of which 450 are listed in their Journal; the Gautami Vidya Peeth at the same place has about 100 palm-leaf manuscripts bearing on Śrauta-Smārta. In the Samskrita Academy of the Osmania University, there is a collection of 3000 manuscripts of which 2000 are in Sanskrit. In the Archaeology Department, Hyderabad, 1000 Sanskrit manuscripts have been collected and two of the manuscripts here which may be noted are the Vāstusārasaṅgraha and the Sasyānanda which is on agriculture and differs from the printed text of that name. In the Sir Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, 300 new manuscripts have been added to the old collection.

In Bangalore, the Mythic Society has a few manuscripts from Nepal a palm-leaf ink Devanagari manuscript of Yājñavalkya with Mitākṣarā,

Saptaśatī (palm-leaf), a fragment of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa (palm-leaf) Yoginībhairavavijaya (paper), Tattvakaumudidaśamahāvidyā (palm-leaf) and Navarātripūjāvidhi (black paper). In the Sankara Math, Bangalore, Pt. Ramachandra Sastri has 100 manuscripts. The Sanskrit Academy, Bangalore, keeps about 85 manuscripts, donated by Pt. Subrahmanya Sastri, in the National College. In Siddhaganga, the Virasaiva Math has a few manuscripts. In Mysore, the Silpavidyalaya of Sthapati Nagendra has some Śilpa and Āgama manuscripts. The Veda Vedanta Bodhini Sanskrit College, Melkote, has 20 manuscripts. In Chitaldrug, the Sri J. M. R. Mutt is said to have many manuscripts, according to the information given by Dr. A. Narasimhiah.

In Kerala, the biggest public collection is the one in the University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum. Recently some private family collections had been transferred to it, Pāliyam, Maṇalikkara etc., and the total number now is 30,000. Veṭakkumkūr Rajaraja Varma has a private collection and a Nambūtiri family collection known afresh is the one in the Illam of Akavūfr Narayanan Nambutirippad, son of Vasudevan Nambutirippad.

Reference should also be made to stray individual manuscripts with certain persons or at certain places which were reported by witnesses: a complete copy of the BhṛguSamhitā, astrology, was said to exist, according to Pt. Baldev Misra, Raj Library, Darbhanga, in a village near Nepal border. Dr. Radha Govind Basak mentioned a manuscript of a new commentary on the Prākṛt Poem Setubandha, the Setutattvacandrikā by Viśvanātha, copied in 1646; the gloss refers to earlier commentators and the following names are mentioned: Śrīnivāsa, Lokanātha, Kulanātha, Sāhasāṅka and Harṣapāla. In Cuttack Sri Sarvesvara Das has discovered a manuscript of the play Candrakalā by Viśvanātha, referred to by the author in his Sāhityadarpaṇa and he has prepared an edition of it. In Challapalli Fort, there is an old Devī Bhāgavata manuscript. In Kerala, Mr. Achyuta Menon of Trichur, Retired Chief Secretary of Cochin, informed that he had come across a rare manuscript called Āyurveda Smṛti; Kerala is of course the home of unsuspected rare finds in the field of Sanskrit manuscripts.

In the Vedādarśa Mahāvidyālaya, Sadikala, P. O. Rudranagar, Dr. Vasti, there are 460 mss., according to the information supplied by the institution.

VYAÑJANĀ OR SUGGESTIVE POWER

by

Dr. C. B. Gupta, M.A., D.Litt., Sāhityācharya,
Head of the Sanskrit Department, Hindu College, Delhi.

Dhvani is a criterion of judgment in criticism for Sanskrit poetry. Figures of speech (*Alaṅkāra*) and qualities of style (*rīti*) are not the only and main considerations for the poetry to be declared as good or bad. Sentiment or *rasa* is given great importance in this connection, and dominant sentiment is always suggestive and never expressed. The supreme source of aesthetic pleasure and also the ultimate end of poetry is the realization of *rasas*.

There is a divergence of opinion on the point whether the suggestive power is the function of both meaning and word, or meaning only. According to the traditional view accepted by Mammatta and others, suggestion is of two kinds—"verbal" based upon the word, and 'ideal' based upon the meaning. The verbal suggestion is also of two kinds, that based upon the directly expressed meaning of the word i.e. 'denotative' and that based upon the indicated meaning of the word i.e. 'indicative'. The ideal suggestion is based upon meaning, i.e., the expressed, the indicated and the suggested, which bring about the cognition of another meaning, by persons endowed with imaginative intuition—through peculiarities of (a) the speaker, (b) the person spoken to, (c) intonation, (d) the sentence, (e) the expressed meaning, (f) the presence of another, (g) context, (h) place (i) time and so forth.

The present paper is an attempt to throw light on the subject and to establish that the suggestive power is the function of meaning only and not of word. Now as regards Ideal suggestion, it is accepted at all hands. Whether there is separate existence of the power of suggestion of word (*śābdī Vyañjanā*) or not, is the point on which controversy stands. Both kinds of verbal suggestions will be dealt with here and it will be shown that no useful purpose is served by keeping them separate.

Suggestion based upon denotation is described in *Kāvya prakāśa* as follows:—

अनेकार्थस्य शब्दस्य वाचकत्वे नियन्त्रिते ।
संयोगाद्यैरवाच्यार्थधीकृदयापृतिरञ्जनम् ॥

Thus Mammatta and his supporters are of the opinion that connection etc., are the conditions that serve to bring about the idea of a particular meaning of a word, when there is an uncertainty as to its actual meaning in a particular context and it is in accordance with this that one particular meaning, out of a number of meanings, of a word is understood to be intended in the example, "सशङ्खको हरिः". Though the word हरिः has got many meanings such as Viṣṇu, monkey, Indra, Śiva, Brahmā, Yama, Sun, Moon, etc., yet in this example the meaning of this word is incidentally

restricted to Viṣṇu because of its connection with conch and discus. It is held in such cases that the other significations other than that to which the signification has been restricted cannot be done by denotative function of the word, as that has been restricted and hence precluded from the meaning cognised, and also it cannot be done by its indicative function, as the 'incompatibility of the primary meaning' and other conditions of indication would be wanting, the only function by which it can be done is suggestion.

In the example "भद्रात्मनो दुरधिरोह्यतनोर्विशालवंशोन्नतेः" such words are used as are applicable to the king as also to the elephant. As in this verse a king is described, the expressed sense is restricted to his case only, the other meaning applicable to the side of elephant being out of context, is said to be the suggested sense. This is the point of controversy, it is not clear how the other meaning applicable to the side of elephant becomes व्यङ्ग्यार्थ the words used in the above verse are such as are संकेतिक (conventioned) in several meanings. All the meanings, therefore, must be presented to the reader of the verse at the first instance by the power of denotation (अभिधा) and are certainly denoted meanings or वाच्यार्थ. It is only after it is decided on the basis of the context etc.,—that the meaning applicable to the side of the King is प्राकरणिक and the meaning applicable to the elephant is अप्राकरणिक that the meaning on the side of the elephant is said to be the suggested sense. How can the meaning, which at the beginning of the process of understanding the verse was वाच्यार्थ, be turned into व्यङ्ग्यार्थ at the end of the process.

If we further critically review the above example and the similar ones we find that indirect meanings are considered as suggestive ones by the ancient rhetoricians. What is the justification for that, is not understandable. In our view the indirect meanings are also expressed meanings because as soon as we hear the word हरिः in the first example or the whole śloka भद्रात्मनो etc. in the former case we get different meanings Indra, Viṣṇu etc. and in the later case the different meanings such as of elephant and king by the denotative power. This is a great surprise how the meaning in which the word is not restricted changes its original nature. The utmost we can say in such cases that the meaning in which the word is restricted can be called denotative but the indirect meaning or meanings, which we get as soon as we hear the word through denotative power may be said the discarded or unintended meaning or meanings. How can the significations other than the restricted ones be called the suggested ones. It is not proved by logic.

On this subject K. N. Telang has critically examined 'Nāgarī pracārīṇī patrikā; the views of different rhetoricians such as Abhinavagupta, Viśvanātha and Jagannātha taking the example "अत्रान्तरे कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरन्नजम्भत ग्रीष्माभिधानः कुल्लमल्लिकावलाट्टहासो महाकालः" and has rightly come to the conclusion that both the direct and indirect meanings i.e., forgetful season and 'Mahākāla'—a particular god, can be understood by the denotative power of the word and not that the indirect meaning is understood by suggestive power, as the later meaning is actually the discarded one in the context, which also comes before the mind of the reader as soon as the above sentence is uttered. In this connection it can rightly be asserted that both the meanings are expressed; the one meaning is the intended one, while the other is what is not intended. How can the expressed meaning become the suggested one? That is a question

which remains unexplained by the exponents of two kinds of suggestive power—verbal and ideal.

Further, suggestive power is always found in direct connection with meaning and not with word, because there does not exist any direct connection in the shape of cause and effect of the suggested meaning with the word. That can be considered to be the cause, which invariably exists just before the production of the effect. But the word does not invariably exist just before the appearance of the suggested meaning, but some kind of meaning exists just before that. Thus, the suggested meaning is the meaning that is derived after the appearance of some kind of meaning,—whether expressed, indicated or suggested. As the conventional denotation is not apprehended directly in case where the second meaning is suggested after the first, there cannot be Abhidhā (conventional denotation). Here the Lakṣanā (Indication) is also not possible because there is no incompatibility of the primary meaning. Lakṣanā will be possible only when these conditions are visible. When conventional denotation and indication all fail to provide us the required sense, we admit the suggestive power.

Further, suggestive power, said to be based upon denotation—अभिधामूला can be resolved into pun, as certain rhetoricians, like Appayyadikṣita have expressed the definition of Śleṣa as follows:—

नानार्थसंश्रयः श्लेषो वर्यावस्योभयाश्रितः ।

i.e., pun dependent upon different meanings of the same word or words they may both belong to context or they may both be out of context or one of them may be in context and the other may be out of context. And by the description of the above kind of suggestive power, it is evident that one meaning there is found to be according to context, while the others are understood out of context. Thus, the above kind of suggestive power can easily be explained by the third kind of śleṣa understood by Appayyadikṣita.

Now we take up the question of suggestion based upon Indication. In particular this kind of suggestion can be either based upon usage or upon some purpose. In the former case it is without any suggested meaning while the latter is said to be accompanied by a suggested meaning. Take for example “गङ्गायां घोषः” for the latter’s example. The process is that the primary meaning of the word ‘Gaṅgā’ is the river itself and it is not compatible with the meaning—location of the cowherd station, so we take resort to indication and we get at the meaning ‘Gaṅgā-bank’ which is in affinity with the primary sense of the ‘river’ as it is situated in close proximity and this indication is done for the purpose of pointing out the properties of sanctity and coolness. The question arises here whether the suggested meaning based upon purpose comes out of the force of the original word or of the indicated meaning. According to the traditional view all the three meanings—expressed (current of Gaṅgā) indicative (Gaṅgā-bank) and suggested (coolness and purity) are obtained directly from the word ‘Gaṅgā’ but our point of view is different.

In our opinion, the suggestive sense comes out of the indicative sense and not from the original word in sentences in which an indicative word (लाक्षणिक शब्द) is used to serve some special purpose (प्रयोजन). In this connection the objection of the followers of the ध्वनि school, that the

purpose (प्रयोजन), to communicate which a लाक्षणिक word is used, cannot be said to come out of the indicated sense because in that case there will be no difference in the meaning of the two sentences गंगायां घोषः and गंगातटे घोषः is uncalled for and weak.

The two sentences quoted above to prove that the suggested sense comes from the original word are of entirely different nature and serve no purpose. The followers of the ध्वनि school themselves hold that in case of the use of a लाक्षणिक शब्द to express a प्रयोजन, the लक्ष्यार्थ is understood as identical with the वाच्यार्थ. If so, the qualities of the वाच्यार्थ must be transferred to the लक्ष्यार्थ. Under the circumstances it cannot be maintained successfully that the लक्ष्यार्थ is not capable of communicating the व्यङ्ग्यार्थ even though it is admitted that the व्यङ्ग्यार्थ is a quality of the वाच्यार्थ and not the लक्ष्यार्थ.

In this connection it is noteworthy that both the indicated 'bank' as well as the indicative 'river' are comprehended as absolutely identical for achieving the purpose in the form 'suggested meaning' and so it is a definite fact that just after the appearance of the indicated meaning alone, the suggestive power comes in and gives the intended suggestive meaning in the form of purpose. Thus suggestive meaning is very close to the indicated meaning which in itself is identical with the indicative 'river'. Thus in such cases also it is useless to accept the verbal suggestion, but ideal suggestion is sufficient to explain it.

In this manner other examples of suggestion based upon word can be taken up and explained to be dependent directly upon meaning and not upon word.

ARTHAVINISCAYA-SŪTRA AND ITS COMMENTARY

By

Prof. P. V. Bapat.

This Sūtra is considered to be very important in Buddhist Sanskrit literature and is referred to in other Buddhist books, as it perhaps enumerates and explains in detail the different technical terms for as many as twentyseven Dharmas. This sūtra is referred to in:—

- (i) *Sūtra-samuccaya* in its Tibetan version. This text gives quotation from several other Buddhist works, as it is merely a collection of different sūtras considered to be important by its author. It is also found in the long interpolation found in the Tibetan version of the Vimuktimārga., about which I had submitted a paper to the Eleventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad Deccan, 1941, and which was subsequently printed in the New Indian Antiquary, vol. VII, Nos. 374, June-July, 1944.
- (ii) *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Āloka*, a commentary on *Prajñā-pāramitā* (Wogihara's ed. i. 529).
- (iii) *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*. While commenting on i. 3. of *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā*, Yaśomitra remarks:—*Sūtra-viśeṣāeva hy Arthavinīścayādayo' bhidharma-saṅgā yeṣu dharmalakṣaṇaṃ varṇyate*.

2. There appear to be two versions of this sūtra in Chinese, Nanjio's Nos. 928 and 1015, corresponding, respectively, to Nos. 762 and 763 of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Whether these two versions are similar or whether one is an enlarged later version of the other is a matter to be investigated. Apparently, Nanjio's No. 928, which is reported by Nanjio to be extending over 12 leaves only, is an earlier and smaller version. The other one is translated by Chin Tsun Che (*Suvarṇa-dhāraṇi* ?) in 1113 A.D. in the later Sun dynasty A.D. 960-1127. There is also a Tibetan version of the same and in the Kanjur Catalogue of the Otani University it is numbered 983 which corresponds to Nanjio's No. 1015, as remarked by Nanjio himself. It is numbered 317 in the Tohoku Imperial University Catalogue of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

3. As the author of the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* remarks, this sūtra belongs to the special category of those sūtras which deal with the dharmas that are really the subject-matter of an *Abhidharma* Text. These categories of the Dharmas are enumerated at the beginning of the text and later are explained in detail, one by one. In the opening section of the

Uddeśa, the author enumerates as many as twenty-seven topics, which are designated in numerical categories, which a student of Buddhism cannot afford to be ignorant of. The topics are as follows:—

- (i) Pañca skandhāḥ—five groups of worldly existence.
- (ii) Pañca Upādāna-skandhāḥ—five attachment groups in individual existence.
- (iii) Aṣṭādaśa dhātavaḥ—eighteen elements.
- (iv) Dvādaśa āyatanāni—twelve organs and objects of sense.
- (v) Dvādaśāṅga Pratitya-samutpādāḥ—twelfefold Law of Dependent Origination.
- (vi) Catvāri Āryasatyāni—Four Noble Truths.
- (vii) Dvāviṃśatir indriyāṇi—twenty-two Faculties.
- (viii) Catvāri dhyānāni—four trances.
- (ix) Catasra ārūpya-samāpattyāḥ—four formless attainments.
- (x) Catvāro Brahma-vihārāḥ—four sublime Modes of Life.
- (ix) Catasraḥ Pratipadaḥ—four Courses of action.
- (xii) Catasraḥ Samādhi-bhāvanāḥ—four ways of cultivating meditation.
- (xiii) Catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni—four ways of setting up mindfulness.
- (xiv) Catvāri Samyak-prahāṇāni (? pradhānāni)—four ways of right effort.
- (xv) Catvāra ṛddhipādāḥ—four bases of miraculous powers.
- (xvi) Pañca indriyāṇi—five faculties.
- (xvii) Pañca balāni—five powers.
- (xviii) Sapta bodhyaṅgāni—seven factors of enlightenment.
- (xiv) Āryāṣṭāṅgo Mārgaḥ—the Noble Eightfold Path.
- (xx) Soḍaśākārā Ānāpāna-sati—the sixteenfold pondering on respiration.
- (xxi) Catvāri Srota āpatti--aṅgāni--four factors of attaining the Stream.
- (xxii) Daśa Tathāgata-balāni—ten powers of the Tathāgata, the Buddha.
- (xxiii) Catvāri Vaiśāradyāni—four confidences.
- (xxiv) Catasraḥ Pratisaṃvidaḥ—four powers of penetrative comprehension.
- (xxv) Aṣṭādaśāveṇikā Buddhadharmāḥ—Eighteen extraordinary qualifications of the Buddha.
- (xxvi) Dvātriṃśan Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇāni—Thirty-two marks of a Great Man.
- (xxvii) Aśītir anuvyañjanāni—eighty minor signs (of the Buddha).

4. In the next section of Nirdeśa, the author proceeds to explain, one by one, all the terms given in the section of Uddeśa.

While dealing with the Law of Dependent Origination, he explains the different factors that go to make up the chain of causation. While explaining Saṃskāras, he divides them into three classes, those of the body, tongue and mind. Those of the body are further explained as 'inhalation and exhalation' which are connected with body. Those of tongue are prescribed as vitarka (first application of thought) and vicāra (further

reflection). Those of mind are described as volition of a man who is over-powered by passion, ill-will or delusion. This kind of explanation was, perhaps, considered even by the commentator as out of the way and so he to tries reconcile this statement with what the Buddha has said elsewhere.

At another place, in the explanation of the Fourth Noble Truth, *Duḥkha-nirodhagāminī-pratipad*, a fine parable is given. A man suffering from fever goes to a Physician and asks for a medicine to allay the fever. The physician puts questions to him as to what he had eaten or drunk. The patient replies that he had eaten curds (*dadhi*), and cucumber (*trapuṣaṃ*) and drunk butter-milk. The physician then prescribes him a medicine which would remove the poison (of fever) in him. So people suffering from the acute fever in the form of birth and the rest approached the compassionate Buddha and asked for what would allay their fever of suffering (*duḥkha-jvarāpahaṃ*). He told them the cause of suffering and prescribed the great medicine of Noble Eightfold Path.

In the explanation of *Samādhi-bhāvanā* (section 12), we find the passage closely similar to one quoted in the *Sūtra-samuccaya*—the passage which as an interpolation is found in several editions of the Tibetan version of the *Vimuktimārga*. This passage details the various unpleasant parts of the human body to the existence of which he becomes alive, just as a man with perfect eye-sight can discriminate between various kinds of grain stocked in his granary.

While commenting on *anṛtaṃ* (falsehood), the writer defines falsehood, as a statement, made in reply to a question directly put to one, that does not conform to what really exists, or to what has really happened. He further illustrates thus: If one who is not an Arhat (Worthy Man) professes, *except in a jocular way*, that he is an Arhat—that is falsehood. So the exception made in this case by the author shows how far the community of Buddhist monks had already departed from the strictness in this matter of falsehood as illustrated by the famous *Ambaliṭṭhika-Rāhulovāda-sutta*, where the Buddha enjoins on the Buddhist monks not to speak falsehood, even in joke. This very *sutta* is referred to in the famous Bhabra edict of Aśoka.

The author's comment on '*naiṣpeṣikatvaṃ*' is also interesting. When a Buddhist monk does not get alms in a house and when he wants to get it from the same, he says to the people of the house: "The masters of the house who do not give any charity go to hell. You do not want to give. You are sure to go to hell". And thus he gets food from them who are afraid of hell.

In the last section No. 27, we have the lists of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, as well as eighty minor signs, on the body of the Buddha. The writer mentions the number thirty-two but actually we have thirty-three. This is perhaps due to the addition of thirty-third, *Nārāyaṇa-śarīra-samasta* (? *samanta*) *prāsādikatā*, the gracefulness, all around, as on the body of *Nārāyaṇa*. This is perhaps due to the influence of *Nārāyaṇa* cult, in connection with which I may refer to my paper on '*Nārāyaṇa-bala*' published in *Saṃjñā-vyākaraṇa*, Poona & Paris, 1954.

The list of eighty minor signs (*aśīti anuvyañjanāni*), when compared with the lists in *Mahāvūtpatti*, section xviii, 269-349 (Sakaki's edition) and *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Ālokā*, Chapter XXIX, G. O. S. Ed. pp. 526 ff,

Wogihara's ed. pp. 918-923, reveals that it lacks two factors—rakta-jihvatā (red tongue) and śukla-damṣṭratā (White Jaws), and so in the last factor we have to enumerate, separately, śrīvatsa, Svastika and Nandyāvarta to arrive at the standard figure of eighty. There is further addition of vajra and padma. There are some minor variations due to the use of other synonyms, and so we may not consider them as of material importance.

In the explanation of this list of thirty-two marks of a Great Man, the author gives Karma-nirdeśa, in which he explains the previous actions of the Buddha that have led to the production of those marks. But this often differs from what is said in the same connection in Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Ālokā. No karmanirdeśa is given in connection with the eighty minor signs, though it is found Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Ālokā.

This text was written down on the ninth of the bright half of Caitra, Samvat. 319.

5. A commentary on this text is also found. It is called "Arthaviniś-cayasūtrasya Nibandhanam". It is written, as its colophon tells us, by one Virya-Śrīdatta, living in Nālandā- Vihāra in the kingdom of King Dharmapāla. It was written down, in Samvat 319 (randhra-candrāgnihāyane) in the bright half of Śrāvaṇa by Viraśrimitravīra, just four months after the writing of the text. The commentator seems to have been acquainted with life in Madhya-deśa- *Vrihīnām sthāpanāya mṛdabhājanam koṣṭhakeṭi pratitā Madhyadeśe*. He refers to the views of Sautrāntikas, Vaibhāṣikas and others (anye) whom he does not name. He refers to some anecdotes as when he says: "Ārya Pilindavatsasya Gangāvr̥ṣalivāda-sancodanam". He is very often explicit in his comments. On dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihārāya, he says: dṛṣṭo dharmo dṛṣṭadharmah . . . dṛṣṭaśabdena pratyakṣa ucyate. Dharma-śabdenāpi janma. Etad uktaṁ bhavati—pratyakṣa eva janmani samādhisukha-pratisamvedanāya. Like other commentators, he is often found to be deriving an interpretation from the letters of a word:—

Niyante' smin sattvā apunyaavaśeneti narakah; Sañjīva iti yatra sattvān-mriyamāṇān vāyavaḥ sañjīvayanti sa Sañjīvaḥ;

*Nyag adhastād rohatīti nyagrodhaḥ, vaṭaḥ;
Pretā iti bhṛṣamṛtā 'apunarāvṛtteriṭā iti pretāḥ ;*

He often quotes passages from sūtras, sometimes mentioning their names, or sometimes simply saying 'iti vacanāt', or 'atra ucyate', 'tathā ca āha', or 'gāthāyām apy uktaṁ', or 'iti sūtrāt' etc.

He also refers to other explanations of the term elsewhere by saying 'sūtrāntare', or 'sūtrāntareṣu punaranyathā prasiddham'.

He also gives other readings by saying 'kvacit pāṭhaḥ', or 'kvacit pustake pāṭhaḥ' or by merely saying 'ity anye' (Nārāyaṇabalam ity anye).

To explain the inefficacy of certain factors in producing its effects, he gives a very fine simile of rotten seeds which are incapable of producing anything (pūtibijavaj-jananāyogāt).

In the explanation of Saṃskāras, he enters upon a long discussion on the exact 'implication of the word in the phrase avidyā-pratyayāt saṃskāraḥ

or *saṃskārapratyayād vijñānam*. He compares the explanation of the text with explanations found elsewhere and often expresses his preference for other explanations. For instance he quotes a passage from *Kumbhopama-sūtra* to justify the interpretation of *saṃskāras* as actions of the body, tongue or mind, characterised as meritorious, demeritorious or indeterminate.

As regards the characteristic marks of a Great Man on the body of the Buddha, he also mentions the figure thirty-two, but actually comments upon thirty-three, the last being connected with the body of *Nārāyaṇa*. It is also interesting to note that he also gives an alternative reading '*Nārāyaṇa-bala*'. In this connection I should like to refer to my paper in *SANJÑĀ-VYĀKARAṆA*.

The commentator follows the list in the original text which, it is interesting to note agrees closely with the list in Pali books, except that there is nothing corresponding to '*Brahmanujjugattā*' of the Pali texts. Another point of agreement is that this text, as in Pali sources; begins with marks on the lowest part of the body, i.e. feet, and ends with those on, or connected with, the head, the elevated part of his head or his circular appearance like that of a Banyan tree, and not with the marks relating to the topmost part of the body as in *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvīyutpatti*.

It may also be noted that though in the text itself, the terms *dirghāṅgulitā* (no. 4) and *eṇeya-jaṅghatā* (No. 8) are not explained, the commentary explains these terms.

As regards the eighty minor signs, the commentator has not much to say. He informs us that the sign of *Śrīvatsa* is on the heart, though according to another authority it is described to be on the soles of feet (*pādātala ity anye*). *Svastika* he mentions to be on heels (*pārṣṇitale*), though we know from sculpture at *Amarāvati* that it is found on the toes of feet. Similarly, he locates *Nandyāvarta* on fingers (*aṅgulitaleṣu*). He follows the text in mentioning *vajra* and *padma*, though *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and *Mahāvīyutpatti* have nothing to corroborate.

Here I have just given a short note on two important works, *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* and its Commentary. Both these texts available in two different copies belong to the collection of *Shri Rahula Sāṅkṛityāyana* deposited in the *K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna*. On closer study of these texts, we may further be able to say what school these texts belonged to. The Commentary is further useful as it is dated. We are in a position to know the dates of the manuscripts of the text and the commentary as well as one manuscript of the same date as of the author of the Commentary, who lived at *Nālandā* in the kingdom of King *Dharmapāla*. A comparison of this text with its Tibetan and Chinese versions may be found to be interesting. A casual comparison with the Chinese versions reveals that there is nothing corresponding to the last mark in of a Great Man, in our text and commentary inspired by *Nārāyaṇa* cult. So obviously, this mark inspired by *Nārāyaṇa* cult must be considered as interpolation later than the last Chinese version made in 1113 A.D.

I have to express my gratefulness to Principal *Pralhad Pradhan*, now of Govt. College, *Sambalpur, (Orissa)*, for making the Text and the Commentary available to me, both in the photographic reproductions as well as his readings of the same.

ŚAMATHA AND VIPAŚYANĀ IN BUDDHIST SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By

Dr. Amalia PEZZALI (ITALY).

According to the Buddhist Literature Śamatha, the concentration of mind, and Vipāśyanā, the transcendental analysis are the main devices in the path leading to Nirvāṇa. They act together in a correlative way, giving mutual help to each other. They both reveal the essential nature of the four noble truths (ārya-satya). When the mind is in intense concentration, insight prevents it from sleeping, and when the insight is disturbed by some distractions (vikṣepa) and agitations (auddhatya), quietude intervenes to discipline the mind and to fix it again on the mental object (ālambana).

Śamatha is quietude, the fixing of the thought (manasikāra); it removes the passions. Vipāśyanā is both the process and the end of the investigation; it annihilates the avidyā. At the beginning Śamatha was restricted to few practices; the contemplation of foulnesses (aśubha bhāvanā) and the control of breath (prāṇāyāma). Afterwards it embraced a developed technique, very probably due to the influence of the Southern school. It was then identified with samādhi, while Vipāśyanā was identified with prajñā. Moreover, the field of the investigation is more vast in Mahāyāna than in Hīnayāna. In early Buddhism the enquiry to make should centre around the emptiness of Self (puḍgalanairātmya). In the late Buddhism, after such an inquiry, it is necessary to make another one, about the unsubstantiality of the objective dharmas (dharma-nairātmya).

In the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature many texts speak about these two topics, either they belong to Hīnayāna, or to Mahāyāna or to the transition period between the two systems.

About the Hinayanic Sanskrit texts we can point out that the Sanskrit Literature belongs specially to the Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika school. The Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin has recently come to light among the Gilgit Mss. In this work there is once the mention in the Bhaiṣajyavastu section of a monastery which was "suitable for the practice of Śamatha and Vipāśyanā". These two dharmas are considered as the principal factors of the spiritual exercises which the monk has to practise to fulfil his life of perfection (III pt. 1-, p. 3).

A full exposition of the Vaibhāṣika realism in its most developed form is embodied in the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu. The work is quite late and continues an experience of about ten centuries of Buddhism. A whole chapter (VIII) is devoted to the description of the forms of meditation (dhyāna) and contemplation (samāpatti) with all the details regarding the

factors (aṅga) of the dhyānas and the absence of them in the samāpattis. The Abhidharmakośa relates that according to the sūtras the four dhyānas represent the higher discipline of the mind (adhicittam śikṣām). One attains the dhyānas by detachment of the "kāmadhātu" and one loses them by detachment of the "Brahmaloka". Many forms of concentrations are included in the dhyānas. When all the dhyānas have been practised the notion of materiality (rūpa) is overcome. The spiritual aspirant can then proceed to the four superior concentrations or contemplations (samāpatti) belonging to the Arūpyadhātu. Therein no factors are present. Only the four dhyānas have factors (aṅga-samāyukta) because there quietude (śamatha) and insight (vipaśyanā) are equal. In fact these two dharmas are poised in the dhyānas like animals attached to a yoke (śamatha-vipaśyanābhyām yuganaddhabhyām ivāśvabhyām ratho vahaṭīti yuganaddhavāhi, tad bhavat", Kośa VIII, p. 131 Note 2.).

In the samāpattis the dharma-factors have no reason to exist. The only taste present there is quietude (śamathaikatārasasattā).

The samāpattis also are four in number and like the dhyānas each of them is twofold. They arise from the separation (viveka) of the inferior bhūmis. This separation plays the role of the path along which the ascetic is weaned out of the inferior plane. The last samāpatti represents the excellence of quietude (śamatha). There the vipaśyanā as process of knowledge is not strong but as wisdom (prajñā) it is fully realised.

Prajñā according to the Vaibhāṣikas engenders a change from the phenomenal world to Nirvāṇa. This last is cessation (nirodha) a dharma where there are no saṃskāras. The concentration on the Nirvāṇa is thus markless (animitta), empty (śūnyatā) and desireless (apraṇihita).

Throughout the process leading to Nirvāṇa some persons cultivate specially the Śamatha (śamatha yānika) preceded by Vipāśyanā, some the Vipāśyanā (vipaśyanā yānika) preceded by Śamatha but still others both Śamatha and Vipāśyanā together (śamatha vipaśyanām yuganandham bhavati). In this last case concentration (samādhi) and wisdom (prajñā) do not outstrip each other. What is important for the Vaibhāṣikas is to overcome the avidyā, which makes one identify the Real with its changing modes.

Another sanskrit treatise, belonging to the Sautrāntika school is the *Pañcavastuka* of Bhadanta Vasumitra. It is lost in sanskrit and in its chinese translation. We have only the chinese translation of the commentary written by Bhadanta Dharmatrāta. There it is said that quietude (upaśama) is the characteristic (lakṣaṇa) of Nirvāṇa. It is also said that Śamatha and Vipāśyanā are two separated dharmas according to many authoritative works.

The principal texts of the transition period which have a bearing on the two topics in question are specially the *Lalitavistara*, the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Satyasiddhiśāstra*.

In the *Lalitavistara* it is said: "The equipment of quietude, which is the appearance of religious life qualifies one for the meditation of the Tathāgatas. And the equipment of insight, which also is the appearance of the religious life, enables one to attain the divine eye" (IV, 35). The two

dharma here called Śamatha and Vidarśana, synonym of Vipāśyanā, are coupled together and called "the aspects of religious life". They make one fit for superior capacities as well as for the endless state, peace and wisdom that is, Nirvāṇa.

In the *Lalitavistara* it is also said about Buddha that he is full of "discipline" meditation and wisdom" synthesizing the spiritual life, as usual, in the three pivots: "śīla, samādhi and prajñā" (V, 46) and in another chapter it is asserted: "in meditation and knowledge no one is equal to the Buddha" (XIII, 162). The meditation is considered a benefit in itself as a bliss for the people who are oppressed by pain (XIII, 178). "By devotion to meditation it is wished that Buddha may make men attached to meditation" (XII, 169).

Wisdom or understanding (prajñā) is defined as an "astral light", which is the removal of all defects, darkness and bewilderment. It has to be the eye to show the correct way to the three thousand leaders (V, 53).

In the *Divyāvadāna* Śamatha and Vipāśyanā are twice mentioned coupled together as a resort of Buddha. It is in fact said that the Buddhas dwell in quietude and insight (śamatha vipāśyanā vihāriṇam).

The *Satyasiddhi Śāstra* by Harivarman (III century A.D.) devotes a chapter (187) to Śamatha and Vipāśyanā. The text is lost in Sanskrit but we have a Chinese translation, where we read: "All the good dharmas kuśala dharmas) are born from the spiritual practice (bhāvanā), which is based on the two (śamatha and vipāśyanā)." Śamatha removes the bonds (saṃyojanāḥ) and Vipāśyanā cuts them." A series of similarities follows this assertion: Śamatha is like the grasping of some grass and Vipāśyanā like the cutting of it. Śamatha is like the cleaning of the ground and Vipāśyanā like the sprinkling of cow-dung water on it, and so on. The text continues saying that everyone is subject to suffering and everyone can remove it completely by means of Śamatha and Vipāśyanā. Śamatha embodies the śīlaviśuddhi and the cittaviśuddhi and the Vipāśyanā the remaining five viśuddhis in the sevenfold reckoning (cfr. Visuddhimagga XIII, 587).

Among the vitarka mahāpuruṣa the first six are Śamatha and the last two Vipāśyanā (Kośa V, 90).

Among the four smṛtivistānas (kāya, vedanā, citta and dharma) three are Śamatha and the last Vipāśyanā.

All the four paths of magic powers (ṛddhi-pāda) are Śamatha and the four good efforts (samyak-pradāna) are Vipāśyanā.

Among the five senses of knowledge (buddhīndriya), the first four are Śamatha and the last is Vipāśyanā.

The same holds for the power (bala), the first four are Śamatha and the last is Vipāśyanā.

Among the seven bodhyṅgas the first three are Śamatha, the last three are Vipāśyanā and the smṛti is both.

Among the eight mārṅas three are śīla, two are Śamatha and three are Vipāśyanā. Śīla indeed belongs also to the category of Śamatha.

Śamatha overcomes the passions (kleśa) and Vipāśyanā annihilates the ignorance (avidyā). The cittavimukti is realised by Śamatha and the prajñāvimukti by means of Vipāśyanā.

In the Mahayanic sanskrit texts of the Mādhyamika school we find that avidyā is defined not only as the difference but also as the identity with the Real. Ignorance is the attachment to any particular view indulged in unconsciously as in the natural attachment to things. Wisdom is then the discovery that all the particular views are not applicable to the Real; it is the spiritual recognition of the value of the Sūnyatā, a sort of enlightened awareness of the saṃsāra.

The overcoming of the duality of the affirmative and negative views is the freedom of the Mādhyamika. This system identifies Epistemology with Ethics. Freedom is the knowledge itself. The passions darken the Reality of truth, but they are purely imaginative constructions (kalpanā). He who wants to go through the spiritual discipline according to the Mādhyamika system must develop a critical attitude, practising the moral, the mental, the intellectual purification. By means of Vipāśyanā he has to investigate not only the pudgalanairātmya, the insubstantiality of Self, but also the dharmanairātmya, the insubstantiality of dharmas. As it is said in the *Samādhirājasūtra* (IX, 37) one who possesses only the first statement of truth (pudgalanairātmya) cannot reach Nirvāṇa.

In the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva many times Śamatha and Vipāśyanā are designated the main devices of spiritual discipline. Śamatha is mentioned among the precepts preached as means to make easy the avoidance of evil (ŚikṣāS. p. 104, V). The person who takes delight in senseless talks is condemned as being very far from quietude and insight (Śikṣā S. p. 108, V). The necessity to keep the mind firmly bound to the state of quietude is one of the conditions for getting mindfulness (Śikṣās. p. 118, VI). The mindfulness of the thought is its stability, and when attention is absent the audition (śruti), the reflection (cintanā) and the spiritual exercise (bhāvanā) do not produce wisdom (prajñā) (cfr. *Bodhicaryāvatāra* V., 25).

Quietude, which is defined in the *Akṣayamatisūtra* as the calming and the fixing of the thought, the control of the senses, is considered as the power to produce the correct knowledge (B. C. VIII, 4). And devotion (ādarah) is called the great soul of quietude (śamatha mātmyam). The developing of Śamatha and Vipāśyanā embodies also the practice of all virtues.

The practice of these two dharmas constitutes the order of the spiritual exercises according to Kamalaśīla. In his *Uttarabhāvanākrama* he gives a detailed account of the way to develop Śamatha and Vipāśyanā. The sanskrit MS of the *Bhāvanākrama* is at present in the Library of Leningrad (Obermiller: *Journal of the Greater India Society* II Jan. 1935). A new copy of it has been recently found in Nepal by prof. Tucci and it will be published soon. The Tibetan version is in the Tanjur (mdo XXX, 9, p. 63 a in the Peking ed.). All the obstacles (āvaraṇa) are destroyed by these two dharmas because by quietude the thought does not move from

the object and then the light of the correct knowledge (bhūtaprajñāloka) arises by insight.

By the force of Śamatha one has to examine the images devoid of concepts (nirvikalpaka-pratibimba) emanating from all the dharmas. After that the yogin starts the analysis of them. So the concepts arise and the new object to examine is the images with concepts (savikalpaka pratibimba). These two exercises constitute the preparatory path (prayoga mārga). The yogin penetrates afterwards the true nature of the dharmas in the path of vision (darśana mārga) and he reaches the final point (vastvanta). Realising that there is no Self (pudgalanairātmya) and no dharmas (dharma-nairātmya) he starts his purification from bhūmi to bhūmi in the developed path (bhāvanā mārga). Finally he becomes a Buddha with the success of the enterprise (prayojana-pariṇiṣpatti).

It is also said in the *Uttarabhāvanākrama* that in order to practise quietude and insight, the yogin has to establish himself on the pure morality, to produce the great compassion (mahākaruṇā) towards all beings, to bring the thought of the Bodhi into existence and to nourish it by the instruction (śruti), reflection (cintā) and spiritual practices (bhāvanā).

Śamatha acts against distractions and agitations which can intervene during the period of meditation, Vipāśyanā acts against torpor and sleep, which can intervene when the quietude is too intense. Both these dharmas give to the exercises a balanced and harmonious development, a sort of equilibrium, correcting the obstacles and defects of each other.

In the idealistic systems the psychological standpoint is emphasised. The process of liberation is an intellectual intuition. If the consciousness undergoes the process of defilement (saṃkleśa) it has to free itself by a purification process (vyavadāna). "The comprehension" is, according to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (p. 82, XII, 15), "the correct knowledge of the mind collected in samādhi" (buddhiḥ samāhitacittasya yathābhūta jñānāni). The mental act (manaskāra) can develop in eighteen forms (M. S. A., p. 56, XI, 12). Among them one is with the path of quietude and insight as its own nature (śamatha-vipāśyanā-svabhāvaḥ). In another respect the mental act can be of eleven types (M. S. A., p. 91, XIV, 3) and among such types we find the mental act of quietude (śamathamana-skāraḥ), the mental act of insight (vipāśyanā-manaskāraḥ), the mental act of them coupled together (yuganaddha-manaskāraḥ) and the mental act of the mark of quietude (śamatha-nimittamanaskāraḥ).

With reference to the mental act in form of desire (abhilāṣamanas-kāra) the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (p. 73, XI, 67) informs us that in the fourfold development the first stage is the mental act of desire (yogābhi-lāṣa manaskāraḥ) when one desire to practise the quietude and insight (śamatha vipāśyanā-yogabhāvanābhi-lāṣāt).

The monk who has pronounced his vow has to practise quietude and insight (M. S. A. p. 97, XIV, 50) which are the casual basis of the "adhimukticaryabhūmi. The *Mahāyānasamgraha* (III, 12) of Asaṅga says: "By what reason one enters in the vijñaptimātra? By a knowledge of quietude and insight (śamatha vipāśyanājñāna). And afterwards they are again mentioned in the same text (X, 30) among the eighteen attributes of the Buddhakṣetra. These two dharmas practised by the Bodhisattvas

are superior to that of the Śrāvakas and the Pratyekabuddhas and so they are called Mahāśamatha and Mahāvipaśyanā. The Bodhisattva has to practise them in all the bhūmis in order to realise gradually the cleansing and the purification of the ties of images (nimittabandhana). Buddha himself gave the advices necessary to reach the plenitude of quietude and knowledge during this phenomenal existence M. S. A. p. 90, XXV, 3.). In the Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra (p. 91, XIV, 8) it is said : "The person who knows the path of quietude and the name of the dharma together; he knows the path of insight and the investigation of the meaning; he who knows the coupled path where they are together, such a man keeps the mind engaged and he suppresses the agitation." The path of quietude is not different and not non-different from the path of insight. Quietude in fact relates to the thought chosen by insight, but not to the images with reflection as the insight does. So the *Saṃdhinirmocanaśūtra* says (VII, 6) and it also affirms (VIII, 2) that the images without reflection (nirvikalpakabimba) are the object of quietude alone. The final point (vastvanta) and the fulfilment of the duty (kṛtyānuṣṭhāna) are the object of both coupled together. Such a text is lost in sanskrit, but we have it in Tibetan and Chinese.

According to the Mahāyāna theories the Bodhisattva practises quietude and insight having for basis (saṃniśṛitya) and for support (pratiṣṭhāpana) the teaching of the doctrine (dharma) (prajñāptivyavasthāpana) and the firm resolution (anirākṛtapraṇidhi) to reach the supreme enlightenment (Saṃdhinir. VIII, 1). The *Saṃdhinirmocana* says (VIII, 3-4) that after having heard attentively the teaching of the doctrine, the Bodhisattva goes to a lonely place. There he meditates on what he has heard till he reaches the quietude in the form of corporal and spiritual comfort (kāya-citta-prasrabdhi). Thus established in quietude he starts the work of insight. This he does in nine forms, by research (vicāya), by investigation (pravicāya), by speculation (paritarka), by appreciation (paricāra), by patience (kṣānti), by attraction (kāma), by examination (nitirāṇa), by vision (darśana) and by judgment (avabodha).

But the real Śamatha and the real Vipāśyanā are preceded by a reflection associated with an aspiration congenial to quietude (śamathānulomikādhimukti saṃprayukta) and by a reflection associated with an aspiration congenial to insight (vipāśyanānulomikādhimukti saṃprayukta; see Saṃdhinir. VIII, 5).

Quietude and insight can be based on the doctrine in a single aspect or in all the teaching combined together (Saṃdhi nir. VIII, 14-16). Always according to the same text, quietude can be threefold in relation to the thought without obstacles (ānantaryacitta), eightfold in relation to the four dhyānas and four samāpattis or fourfold in relation to the four brahmavihāras.

Insight which is the reflection on the marks of the thought (nimittacitta) can be of three types; at the beginning a pure reflection on the marks (nimittamayī vipāśyanā), afterwards a more deep research (paryeṣaṇamayī vipāśyanā) and finally the final investigation (pratyavekṣaṇamayī vipāśyanā). S. N. VIII, 9-10.

The Bodhisattvas by the practice of quietude and insight attain the pure knowledge of the doctrine (dharma) (pratisaṃvid) and of the things (arthapratisaṃvid).

The knowledge of the Bodhisattvas who practise quietude and insight is the wisdom of quietude and insight concerning the mixed dharmas (miśradharmālamabaka prajñā); and their vision (darśana) is the wisdom concerning the unmixed dharmas amiśradharmālamabaka prajñā). (S. N. VIII, 25).

The Bodhisattvas practising the quietude and insight discard:

- The marks of the dharma and the thing (artha) by reflecting on the Tathatā;
 - the marks of the support of the name (nāmāśrayanimitta) by considering neither the name nor its own nature (nāmasvabhāva);
 - the marks of the support of the element (dhātuvāśrayanimitta) by considering neither the dhātu nor its own nature.
- Quietude and insight are also mentioned as the antidote (pratipakṣa):
- in the first bhūmi to the passion of the bad destinies (āpāyikakleśa) and the defilement of the act and birth (karma-utpāda-samkleśa);
 - in the second bhūmi to the little transgression (sūkṣmā-pāṭiṣkhalita-samudaya);
 - in the third bhūmi to the desire of the five objects of joy (kāmarāga);
 - in the fourth bhūmi to the attachment to the concentration and to the doctrine (samāpattidharmasneha);
 - in the fifth bhūmi to the extreme horror for the saṃsāra and the extreme complacency for the Nirvāṇa (saṃsāranirvāṇaikāntavai-mukhyābhimukhya);
 - in the sixth bhūmi to the frequent arising of the mark (nimittabahu-samudaya);-
 - in the seventh to the arising of the subtle mark (sūkṣmanimattisa-mudaya);
 - in the eighth to the search exclusively of the no marks (animittapar-yeṣṭi) and the no mastery of the marks (nimittanirvaśitva);
 - in the ninth to the no mastery about the predication of the doctrine in every aspect (sarvākāreṣu dharmadeśanānirvaśitva), which means the absence of arthapratiśamvid;
 - in the tenth bhūmi to the absence of the Dharmakāyapratiśamvid.

These are in short the essential statements about Śamatha and Vipāśyanā according to the Buddhist Sanskrit Literature.

THE PRACTICE OF THE EARLIER TIRTHAMKARAS

By

Dr. H. L. Jain,

Director, Prakrit Jain Institute, Muzaffarpur, (Bihar)

It was now established beyond doubt and dispute that Lord Mahāvīra adopted an earlier system of religion which was prevalent in his time and which he renovated and preached to his followers. To mention a few outstanding researches in this direction, it was Dr. Herman Jacobi who in his Introduction to Vol. XXII & XIV of the Sacred Books of the East presented evidence both from the Ardhamāgadhī and Pali texts to prove "that Pārśva was a historical person". Shri Dhammānand Kosambi took up the thread and he in his book 'Pārśvanātha's Cāturyāma Dharma brought together a mass of material, particularly from the Pali books, to show how Buddha himself came into contact with the followers of Parsvanath even before as well as after his enlightenment and how the tenets of that earlier system influenced him in the formulation of his own teachings. Pt. Sukhlalji in his article 'Bhagwan Pārśvanātha Kī Virāsāt' (Darshana aur cintana Part II) has further supported the thesis and has also tried to show what exactly the practice of the followers of Pārśvanātha was. In this task he has focussed attention upon a number of references in the Ardha-Māgadhī Canon. Pandit Dalsukh Mālvaniya has in one of his articles collected all the references to the followers of Parsvanath occurring in the canonical works.

The asceticism of Pārśvanātha has been called 'Cāujjāma (Sk. Cāturyāma) and this name has been given even to the system of Mahāvīra in the Pali books. The crux of the problem is what exactly was the meaning and significance of 'Caujjama'. The Pali interpretation of the word is entirely different from that found in the Ardhamāgadhī Canon which understands by it the four vows out of the five laid down by Lord Mahāvīra.

On this point Pt. Sukhlalji has noticed briefly the tradition as contained in the Mūlācāra and other Digambara Jain works. But the data presented by him leaves us in doubt as to the exact nature of the tradition and its bearing upon the subject of the religious form of the earlier Tirthamkara. I am therefore attempting here to present that tradition in a more clear form and see how far it is in agreement or at variance with the Ardha-Māgadhī and Pali traditions.

In the Mūlācāra Vaṭṭakera we find the following verses:—

वावीसं तित्थयरा सामायिय-संजमं उवदिसंति ।
 छेदुवाट्ठाणियं पुण भयवं उसहो य वीरो य ॥१
 आचक्खिदुं विभज्जिदुं विण्णदुं चावि सुहदरं होदि ।
 पदेण कारणेण दु महव्वदा पंच पणत्ता ॥२
 आदीए दुब्बिसोधण णिहणे तह सुट्ठु दुरणुपालेय ।
 पुरिमा य पच्छिमा वि दु कप्पाकर्प्प ण जाणंति ॥३

The purport of these verses is as follows:—

The twenty-two Tirthamkaras ("from Ajitanatha to Parsvanatha) have preached *Sāmājiya Sanjama* (Sk. *Sāmāyika Saṃyama*) while the First and the Last Tirthamkaras (i.e. Rshabha and Mahāvīra) preached Cheduvatthāṇiyam (Sk. Chedopasthāpanā saṃyama). The reason for laying down five vows was that this method makes it easier to explain, analyse and understand the subject matter. People at the beginning were hard to purify and at the end it was difficult to make them keep to the right path. Thus people, at the beginning and at the end did not know what to do and what not to do."

These verses are followed in one edition of the *Mulācāra* (Text & trans. by Jinadasa Parsvanatha Phadkule Sholapur) by another verse which is as follows:—

अज्जव-जडा अणज्जव-जडा य उसह-वीर-तित्थजा मणुजा ।
तेसि सुबोधमत्थं छेदोवट्ठावणं वुत्तं ॥

'straight but dull and not-straight and dull were the people during the age of Rshabha and Mahāvīra respectively. For their easy grasp the Chedovatthāṇiyam was laid down'.

These contents of *Mulācāra* would be found to be almost identical with those of *Uttarādhyayana* Chapt. 23. But there is one important difference. While in *Uttarādhyayana* the system of the twenty-two intervening Tirthamkaras is called by the name *Cāujjāma* (Sk. *Chāturyāma*), it has been here called *Sāmājiya Sanjama* and in contra-distinction with it the system of Five Vows has been called *Chedovatthaniyam*. It is therefore necessary to find out what is exactly meant by these terms.

The commentator of *Mulācāra* Vasunandi is not sufficiently helpful on the point, because he does not try to interpret the two significant terms. Never-the-less he explicitly mentions that by Chedopasthāpana is meant the Five Great Vows, as is implied in the text itself. The two terms are explained by Devanandin Pūjyapāda in his commenary *Sarvārtha-siddhi* on the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (VII, IX of *Umāswāti* as follows:—

.....सर्व-सावध-निवृत्ति-लक्षण-सामायिकापेक्षया एकं व्रतं, तदेव छेदोपस्थापनापेक्षया पंचविधमिहोच्यते ।

The *Tattvārtha-vārtika* further clarifies it by reading the last clause as भेदपरतन्त्र-छेदोपस्थापनापेक्षया पंचविधं व्रतम्. Just before these remarks Pūjyapāda gives an etymological explanation of the work *Sāmāyika*.

सम् एकीभावे वर्तते । तद्यथा—संगतं घृतं, संगतं तैलमित्युच्यते एकीभूतमिति गम्यते । एकत्वेन अयनं गमनं समयः । समयः एव सामायिकम् । समयः प्रयोजनमस्येति वा विगृह्य सामायिकम् ।

These remarks are made while commenting upon the *sūtra* enumerating the five vows, namely, हिंसाञ्जित-स्तेयाब्रह्मपरिग्रहेभ्यो विरतिव्रतम् । This leaves us in no doubt that chedova tthaniyam sanjama means these same five vows and no others.

The word *Sāmāyika* has here and elsewhere been repeatedly explained to mean abandonment of all sinful acts in equal manner without making a distinction, and hence all vows boil down to one. If therefore Parsvanath preached Samayika samyama, it means there was no division of the vows into even two classes, to say nothing of the four. Division and classification come only with Chedopasthānika samyama, which according to Jayasena commentator of Pravacanasāra of Kundakūṇḍa (III, 10) may mean:—

छेदेन व्रतभेदेन उपस्थापनं छेदोपस्थापनम् ।

तच्च संक्षेपेण पञ्च-महाव्रतरूपं भवति ।

i.e. presentation of Samyama by cutting it into several distinct vows is called Chedopasthāpanā which briefly consists of the five vows. This is also what is meant by the author of Sarvārthasiddhi (IX, 18) when he says छेदोपस्थापना विकल्पनिवृत्तिर्वा which is further explained in Rāja-vārttika as सावयं कर्म हिंसादिभेदेन विकल्पनिवृत्तिः छेदोपस्थापना ।

Viewed in the light of these explanations of Sāmāyika and Chedopasthāpanā samyama, the statement in the Mulācāra as set forth above is found to mean, so far as the distinct Characteristic of Pārśvanātha's ascetic practice is concerned, that while Pārśvanātha regarded all Samyama as one (Sāmāyika), Mahāvīra classified it into five vows Chhedopasthānika).

Let us now see whether this view finds any support in the Arhḍha Māgadhi Canon. The first statement that caught my eye in this context was Uttarādhyayana XXIX, 8 which is as follows:—

सामाश्यं भंते जीवे किं जणयइ ? सामाश्यं सावज्ज-जोग-विरइं जणयइ ।

Further, the statement in Bhagavatī (25, 7, 785) made the whole position clear. It is as follows:—

सामाश्यंमि उ कए चाउज्जामं अणुत्तरं धम्मं ।

विविहेण फासयंतो सामाश्य-संजओ स खलु ॥

छेत्तूयं य परियागं पोरायं जो ढवेइ अप्पायं ।

धम्मम्मि पंचजामे छेदोवट्ठाणओ स खलु ॥२

Here we are told beyond any possibility of doubt that Sāmāyika Sanjama itself involves Cāujjāma while splitting of the vows into five restraints would constitute the Chhedopasthānīyam. If we leave for the moment the word Cāujjāma out of consideration the distinction between Sāmāyika and Chhedopasthāpanā is exactly the same as has been explained above according to the Mulācāra tradition, namely, observing purity and freedom from all sinful deeds without any categories is Sāmāyika while splitting the same into classes, which happen in the present case to be five, is Chhedopasthānika Samyama.

According to Āyāranga (II, 15, 1013) Lord Mahāvīra adopted the *Sāmāyika Samyama* at the time of the renunciation. This is described as follows:—

तओ यं समणे भगवं महावीरे दाहिणेणं दाहिणं वामेणं वामं पंचमुद्धियं लोयं करेत्ता सिद्धायं णमोक्कारं करेइ । करेत्ता सव्वं मे अकरणियज्जं पावकम्मं 'त्ति कट्ठं सामाश्यं चारित्तं पडि वज्जइ । सामाश्यं चरित्तं पडिवज्जित्ता देवपरिसंमणुय-परिसं च आलिक्खचित्तभूयमिव ठवेइ ।

Here not only the lord is said to have adopted the Sāmāyika Sanjama. but the nature of the Sāmāyika Sanjama is also explained, namely, 'I renounce all sinful acts'. There is here no mention of any kinds of vows. But when he attained omniscience he preached the Five Great Vows:—

तत्रो यं समये भगवं महावीरे उप्पण-णाणदंसण-धरे गोयमाईणं समणाणं णिग्गंधाणं पंचम-हव्वयाइं सभावणाइं छज्जीवणिकायाइं आइक्खइ भासइ परूवेइ (२, १५, १०२४)

Thus, Lord Mahāvīra was himself observing the all comprehensive and omnibus Sāmāyika Saṃyama and it was only after his enlightenment that he preached the Five Vows i.e., Chedovathāṇiyama.

Some fresh light is thrown on the subject by Siddhasena Gaṇi. Commenting on Tattvārtha Sūtra IX, 18 after explaining the word Sāmāyika etymologically, he says:—

सामायिकं द्विप्रकारम्-इत्वर-कालं यावज्जीविकं च । तत्राद्यं प्रथमान्त्य-तीर्थकर-तीर्थयोः प्रव्रज्याप्रतिपत्तावारोपितं शास्त्रपरिज्ञाध्ययनादिविदः श्रद्धतः छेदोपस्थाप्य-संयमारोपण-विशिष्टतर-त्वाद् विरतेः सामायिक-व्यपदेशं जहातीत्यत इत्वर-कालम् । मध्यम-तीर्थकृतां विदेहजेव्रवर्तिनां च यावज्जीविकं, प्रव्रज्या-प्रतिपत्तिकालादारभ्य आप्राण-प्रयाण-कालादवतिष्ठते ।

प्रथमान्त्य-तीर्थकर-शिष्याणां सामान्य-सामायिकपर्यायच्छेदो विशुद्धतर-सर्वसावद्य-योग-विर-ताववस्थानं विविक्ततर-महाव्रतारोपणं छेदोपस्थाप्यसंयमः । छेदोपस्थापनमेव छेदोपस्थाप्यम्, पूर्व-पर्यायच्छेदे सति उत्तर-पर्याये उपस्थापनम्, भावे यतो विधानात् । तदपि द्विधा, निरतिचार-सातिचार-भेदेन । तत्र शिष्यकस्य निरतिचारमधीत-विशिष्टाध्ययनविदः मध्यम-तीर्थकर-शिष्यो वा यदोपसम्पद्यते चरम-तीर्थकर-शिष्याणामिति

सातिचारं तु भद्र-मूलगुणस्य पुनर्व्रतारोपणात् छेदोपस्थाप्यम् ।

उभयं चैतत् सातिचारं निरतिचारं च स्थितकल्प एव, आद्यन्त-तीर्थकरयोरेवेत्यर्थः ।

This may be translated as follows:—

'Sāmāyika' is of two kinds namely temporary and life long. The former is called temporary during the age of the First and the Last Tirthamkaras it being assumed at the time of initiation (Pravrajyā), abandons the name Sāmāyika when the renunciation becomes more specialised by the assumption of Chedopasthāpya by the faithful ascetic having acquired the knowledge of Śāstra-parijñā adhyayana and the like. The Sāmāyika is life-long in the case of the middle Tirthamkaras as well as of those of Videha Kṣetra, because beginning with the time of taking Pravrajyā, it subsists till the time of life departs.

In the case of the followers of the first and the last Tirthamkara there is the discard of the general Sāmāyika-paryāya followed by resort to purer renunciation of all sinful activities and assumption of more distinct Mahā-vratas which constitute the Chedopasthāpya Saṃyama. Chedopasthāpanāni and Chedopasthāpyaṃ mean the same thing, namely abandonment of the former status and assumption of the subsequent status. This Chedopasthāpana is also of two kinds, namely faultless and faulty. Of these, it is faultless in the case of a teacher who has acquired the knowledge of the particular Adhyāyam by studying the same, or in the case of a disciple of the middle Tirthamkaras when he takes Upasampadā from the disciples of the first or the last Tirthamkaras. It is faulty Chedopasthāpya when one breaks the Mūla-guṇas and assumes the vratas once again. Both these kinds of Chedopasthāpya, namely, faulty and faultless, hold good only in

the Sthita-kalpa, that is to say, in the age of the first and the last Tirthamkaras only.

Here, we learn without a shadow of doubt that the followers of Pārśva-nātha observed Sāmāyika Saṁyama only all their life, while in the case of the followers of Mahāvīra it formed a temporary phase and when the probationary period was over after the pravrajya, the disciple took *Upasthāpana* by assuming the distinct Mahāvratas. It envisages two stages of ascetic life, one being called *Parvrajyā* and the other *Upasthāpanā* or *Upasam-padā*, like what we find in Buddhism and also in Christianity called Baptism and Confirmation.

We find this same kind of initiation described at the beginning of the Chapter of Caritra in the Pravacanāsāra of Kundakunda. Both niraticāra and sāticāra Chedopasthāpana is dealt with here, although the commentators have generally missed the point and have got confused with the two meanings of *Cheda*. The following verses are particularly noteworthy:—

आदाय तं पि लिंगं गुरुणा परमेण तं नमंसित्ता ।
 सोच्चा सवदं किरियं उवट्टिदो होदिसो समणो ॥७
 वद-समिदिदियरोधो लोचावस्सयमचेलमणह्वाणं ।
 खिदिसयणमदंतवणं ठिदिभोयणमेगभत्तं च ॥८
 एदे खलु मूलगुणा समणाणं जिणवरेहि पणत्ता ।
 तेसु [S] पमत्तो समणो छेदोवट्ठाणगो होदि ॥९
 लिंगगगहणे तेसिं गुरुत्ति पव्वज्ज-दायगो होदि ।
 छेदेसु अ वध्मा सेसा जिज्जावगा समणा ॥१०

On these verses a few remarks of the commentator Amritacandra may also be noted :

ततः सर्व-सावद्य योग-प्रत्याख्यान-लक्षणैक-महाव्रतश्रवणात्मना श्रुतज्ञानेन समये भवन्तमा-
 त्मानं जानन् सामायिकमधिरोहति । ततः समस्तावद्य-कर्मायतनं कायमुत्सृज्य यथाजातरूपं स्वरूप-
 मेकमेकाग्रेणालम्ब्य व्यवतिष्ठमान उपस्थितो भवति । उपस्थितस्तु सर्वत्र समदृष्टित्वाच्छ्रमणो
 भवति ॥७॥

सर्व-सावद्य-योग-प्रत्याख्यान-लक्षणैकमहाव्रतव्यक्तवशेन हिंसानृत-स्तेयाब्रह्म-परिग्रह-विरत्या-
 त्मकं पञ्चतयं व्रतं तत्परिकरश्च पञ्चतयी समितिः पञ्चतय इन्द्रियरोधः..... विकल्पेनात्मानमुपस्था-
 पयन् छेदोपस्थापको भवति ॥८-९॥

यतो लिंग-ग्रहण-काले निर्विकल्प-सामायिक-संयम-प्रतिपादकत्वेन यः किलाचार्यः प्रव्रज्या-
 दायकः स गुरुः । यः पुनरन्तरं सविकल्प-छेदोपस्थापन-संयम-प्रतिपादकत्वेन छेदं प्रत्युपस्थापकः स
 निर्यापकः । योऽपि छिन्न-संयम-प्रतिबंधान-विधान-प्रतिपादकत्वेन छेदे सति उपस्थापकः सोऽपि
 निर्यापक एव । ततश्छेदोपस्थापकः परोऽप्यस्ति ॥१०॥

We may not pay our attention to Cāujjāma which looms so large in the Ardha-Māgadhi literature in connection with the teachings of Pārśva-nātha. Unfortunately it is nowhere made clear what is exactly meant by that word, except once in Thāṇaṅga (S. 329) where the four are enumerated as सव्वाओ पाणाइवायाओ वेरमणं, एवं मुसावायाओ, अदिन्नादाणाओ, सव्वाओ बहिद्धादाणाओ वेरमणं ।

Taking their start from this, the commentators try to explain either that the additional vow is implied in the fourth (See Cam. of Abhayadeva on Thāṇaṅga) or that the four become five by the addition of a fifth, namely

Maithuna-Viramaṇa (see Shantiyāchārya's Com. on Uttara. XXIII, 23.). But it is noteworthy that the commentators do not claim that the task of splitting the fourth vow of Pārśvanātha into two and thus making them five was accomplished by Lord Mahāvīra. On the contrary the two namely *Cāujjāma* and Panca-Mahāvratā systems are always clearly distinguished from each other. In the Uttarādhyayana, for example, the one is called 'Cāujjāma' and the other 'Panca-sikkhā'. At other places Mahāvratā is substituted in place of 'Sikkhā'. But an exception to this is found in Bhagavati XXV, 7, 785 quoted above, where it is said that a Sāmāyika Sañjaya is he who observes Cāujjāma in doing the Sāmāyika, while the one who splits the old pariyāga and settles himself in the Panca-jāma is indeed Chedovatthāva. Here although panca-jāma are said to be evolved by splitting Pariyāga into two, Mahāvira is not mentioned as the author of the split. A little close examination of the statement in Bhagavati is necessary. According to it 'there is unsurpassed Cāujjāma dhamma' in doing 'Sāmāyika'. What could it mean? If we interpret it that in sāmāyika four vows are observed, then firstly the word sāmāyika loses all its meaning and significance as explained above, namely, the omnibus abstention from all evil deeds without a distinction (*Savva-sāvajja-jog-nivitti*). Secondly, it becomes ridiculous to say that if instead of four vows one observes five, then he is *Chedovatthāniya*, particularly when it is always presumed that the four include the five. It would be Chedopasthāpana even if only two vows are counted as such. Obviously, there is some mistake in understanding the word *Cāujjāma*. Let us now turn to the information culled from the Pali canonical books. In the Samanna-phala-sutta of the Digha Nikāya, *Cātuyāma* is explained as follows:—

इध महाराज, निगण्ठो चातुयाम-संवर-संबुतो होति । कथं च महाराज, निगण्ठो, चातुयाम-संवर-संबुतो होति ? इध महाराज, निगण्ठो सब्ब-वारि-वारितो च होति, सब्ब-वारि-युतो च, सब्ब-वारि-धुतो च, सब्ब-वारि-पुट्ठो च । एवं खो महाराज, निगण्ठो चातुयाम-संवर-संबुतो होति । (D. N. (Part I) Bombay University Publication p. 69).

Now let us examine the contents of this *Cātuyāma*. Dr. Rhys David's translation of the passage quoted above from Digha-Nikāya is as follows:—

"A Nigantha, Oh king, is restrained with a fourfold self-restraint, he lives restrained as regards all water; restrained as regards all evil; all evil has he washed away; and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at lay."

The reference to water 'in the translation is obviously a mistake which had been given currency by a commentator on the Pali text based upon the misunderstanding of the word 'Vāri'. But except for that the translation seems to be satisfactory and it brings out very well the spirit and emphasis of Sāmāyika saṁnyama expressed in its definition, namely '*Savva-sāvajja-joganivitti*'. The word savva remains intact and sāvajja-joga-nivitti is found briefly substituted by the word 'Vari' (i.e. vāraṇa) in the Pali text. It may be regarded as a commentary on the Bhagavati text 'Sāmāyiammi u kae cāujjāmaṁ anuttaraṁ dhammaṁ'.

But the fourfold Yāma still remains a bit doubtful. Dr. Rhys Davids is quite emphatic in his non-acceptance of the first four of the five vows to be meant here. She says: "Prof. Jacobi (Jaina Sutras II XXII) thinks the 'Four Restraints' are intended to represent the four vows kept by the

followers of Pārśva. But this surely cannot be so, for these vows are quite different”.

In my opinion, if the contents of the Cātuyāma were categorically recognised to be Ahimsā etc. the Buddhist tradition could never have missed it so completely. This does not mean that virtues Ahimsā etc. were not implied. I am sure they were, but probably in the same way as the fourth vow is said to have been included under the fifth. The Samyama was one all—comprehensive and it included absention from all evil like violence, falsehood etc.

Of this Sāmāyika saṁyama or Saṁvara, there must have been four facets emphasising the method of restraint as suggested by the Pali tradition. It may be something like the triyoga i.e. by mind, word and deed. In the Tṛhānaṅga itself (S. 385) we find it laid down—

चउव्विहे संजमे पएणत्ते । तं जहा-मण-संजमे, वइ-संजमे, काय-संजमे, उवगरण-संजमे ।

These may have been the four Yamas or methods of restraint. Or to the three, the senses may have been added as the fourth like what we find in the Mūlācāra:—

विरदो सव्व-सावज्जं तिगुत्तो पिहिदिदिओ ।
जीवो सामाइयं णाम संजम-ट्ठाणमुत्तमं ॥७, २३॥

While this point of the *four* may be still open for investigation, I think it is fairly clear how the system of Parsavanath was Sāmāyika while that of Māhāvīra Chedopasthānika and on this point both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions agree.

If we have to make the Buddhist statements about cātuyāma significant, we might understand them as follows:—

1. सव्व-वारि-वारितो—Guarded against all channels of evil i.e. आश्रव-रहित
2. सव्व-वारि-युतो—requipped with all kinds of संवर.
3. सव्व-वारि-धुतो—Absolved of all evil खिज्जरायुक्त.
4. सव्व-वारि-पुट्ठो—Manifestly free from sin मुक्त.

ANUPPEHĀ IN THE ARDHAMĀGADHĪ CANON

by

Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur

The topic of Anuppehā or Anuvekkhā (Skt., Anuprekṣā, from the root *īkṣ* with the prepositions *anu* and *pra*, meaning, to ponder, to reflect, to think repeatedly etc.) plays a significant part in the scheme of Jaina dogmatics and has given rise to almost a branch of Jaina literature, in different languages, of great didactic value and of fervent moral appeal.

The Tattvārthasūtra of Umāsvāti is an earliest attempt to present the Jaina system of thought in the Sūtra form; and, as usual in connection with such works, there has grown a plethora of commentaries on this text. According to Umāsvāti,¹ the twelve topics of reflection are: (1) *anilya-anuprekṣā*, (2) *aśaraṇa-a.*, (3) *saṃsāra-a.*, (4) *ekatva-a.*, (5) *anyatva-a.*, (6) *aśuci-a.*, (7) *āsrava-a.*, (8) *saṃvara-a.*, (9) *nirjarā-a.*, (10) *loka-a.*, (11) *bodhi-durlabha-a.*, and (12) *Dharma-a.*

These topics, it will be seen, cover a wide range of the cardinal teachings and principles of Jainism. Here one who aims at understanding the nature of the universe, at developing detachment and equanimity and at spiritual progress and purification, culminating ultimately into the attainment of Mokṣa, is expected to reflect on (1) the transient character of things, (2) the helplessness of the individual, (3) the cycle of rebirths, (4) the loneliness of the self, (5) the distinction between the spirit and the matter, (6) the impurity of the body (7) the Karmic influx (8) the stoppage of the inflow of Karmas, (9) the shedding of Karmas, (10) the constitution of the universe, (11) the difficulty at attaining enlightenment about true religion, and (12) the law expounded by the Arhata. As it is aptly observed, these Anuprekṣās 'are in the nature of reflections on the fundamental facts of life and remind the devotee of the teachings of the Master on the subject of rebirth, Karma and its destruction, equanimity and self-control, the glory of the Law and the goal.'

With minor differences in enumeration here and there, these topics have, as a whole, given rise to independent works, or substantial sections in the treatises, of authors like Śivārya, Vaṭṭakera, Kundakunda, Svāmi Kumāra, Śubhacandra Hemacandra and others. Some of them flourished earlier and some of them later than Umāsvāti. Most of the later authors are influenced by the commentaries on the Tattvārthasūtra in their exposition of the Anuprekṣās.

According to the Tattvārthasūtra, Anuprekṣās are mentioned among the agencies that bring about *saṃvara*, i.e., the stoppage of Karmic influx,

1. Tattvārthasūtras IX. 7.

2. K. K. Handiqui : Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, Sholapur 1949, pp. 291 ff., especially p. 293.

the others being Gupti, Samiti, Dharma, Paṛṣaha-jaya and Cāritra.¹ It is interesting to note that though the Anuprekṣās are the agencies to bring about Saṁvara, the Saṁvara itself is one of the twelve topics to be reflected upon: that gives rise to a suspicion that the twelve topics might have been codified for reflection at a later date after some of these individual topics were being reflected upon for spiritual progress.

This brings us to the question as to what information we get in the earlier strata of Jaina literature, namely, the Ardhamāgadhī canon, about the Anuprekṣās. The canon, as it has come down to us, contains older and later portions; and still our studies have not sufficiently progressed towards chronological stratification of the various texts. So, taking the present texts as they are, one can see what bits of information one gets there on the Anuprekṣās.

In the canon the term *anuppehā* is used both in its general as well as technical sense;² and it is only with the latter that we are concerned here.

(i) According to the Ovavāiya-sutta,³ Dharmya-dhyāna is of four kinds (*cauvvihe*); it has four characteristics (*lakkhaṇa*); it is supported by four props: 1 *vāyaṇā*, 2 *pucchanā*, 3 *pariyaṭṭanā* and 4 *dhamma-kahā*; and lastly, it is to be attended by four Anuppehās: (1) *aṇicca-a.*, (2) *asaraṇa-a.*, (3) *egatta-a.*, 4. *saṁsāra-a.*

(ii) A similar passage is found in the Thāṇaṁga,⁴ according to which 4 *anuppehā*⁵ takes the place of 4 *dhamma-kahā*;— and the order of enumeration of the four Anuppehās is slightly different.

(iii) Further the Ovavāiyasutta describes Śukladhyāna in a similar manner; and it is (to be) attended by four Anuppehās, namely, 1 *avāya-a.*, 2 *asubha-a.*, 3 *aṇanta-vattiyā-a.* and 4 *vipariṇāma-a.*

(iv) The Thāṇaṁga has a similar passage which shows only variation in the order of the enumeration of the Anuppehās.

(v) The same text, Ovavāiya, states that the internal penance is of six kinds, the fourth being *sajjhāya* and the fifth, *jhāna*.⁷ The *sajjhāya* is further of five kinds; 1 *vāyaṇā* 2 *padipucchanā*, 3 *pariyaṭṭanā*, 4 *anuppehā*, and 5 *dhamma-kahā*. In the other passage, referred to under i and ii above, *anuppehā* and *dhammakahā* figure as alternatives in the Ovavāiya and Thāṇaṁga, but here they are separately enumerated: this separate enumeration is further confirmed by another passage in the same text, in the next Sūtra.

(vi) The Uttarajjhayaṇa (xxx. 34)⁸ also classifies the internal penance into six kinds, and the fourth, namely, *sajjhāya*, is of five kinds: 1 *vāyaṇa*,

1. Tattvārthasūtras IX. 1-2.

2. For the general sense, see Aṇuogadārasuttaṁ, sūtras 73, Suttāgame, Gurgaon 1954, vol. II, p. 1092.

3. Ed. by N. G. Suru. Poona 1931, Sūtra 30, p. 27.

4. Suttāgame, Gurgaon 1953, vol. I, p. 224.

5. Ed. N. G. Suru, Poona 1931, Sūtra 30, p. 27.

6. Suttāgame, Gurgaon 1953, vol. I, p. 224.

7. Ed. N. G. Suru, Poona 1931, Sūtra 30, pp. 24 and 26., also Sūtra 31, p. 29.

8. Ed. Jarl Charpentier, Uppsala 1922.

2 *pucchanā*, 3 *pariyatṭanā*, 4 *anuppehā* and 5 *dhammakahā*. In an earlier chapter (xxix) Sammatta-parakkam, among the topics enumerated, *sajjhāya* stands at No. 18 and is followed by 1 *vāyaṇā*, 2 *padīpucchanā*, 3 *pariyatṭanā*, 4 *anuppehā* and 5 *dhammakahā* which are numbered 19 to 23. It is possible, of course, to take that the last five are just the amplification of *sajjhāya*.

The Uttarajjhayaṇa¹ explains at length the effect of the Anuppehā on the soul aspiring after liberation: 'By pondering (on what he has learned) he loosens the firm hold which the seven kinds of Karman, except the *āyuṣka* (have upon the soul); he shortens their duration when it was to be a longer one; he mitigates their power when it was intense; (he reduces their sphere of action when it was a wide one); he may either acquire *Āyuṣka-karman* or not, but he no more accumulates Karman which produces unpleasant feelings, and he quickly crosses the very large of the fourfold Saṃsāra which is without beginning and end.'

(vii) The Uttarajjhayaṇa, xxi, Caraṇavihi, enumerates topics arranged in units of one, two, three, etc. Under the group of twelve there is no mention of Anuppehā (verse 11). In similar enumerations in the Samavāyaṃga and Āvassayasutta the list of twelve Anuppehās is not mentioned.

(viii) the Mahānisiha-sutta² mentions Bhāvanās in this manner: *bhāvaṇāo duvālasa, taṃ jahā*: (1) *aniccatta-bhāvaṇā*, (2) *asarāṇa-bhā.*, (3) *egatta-bhā.*, (4) *annanna-bhā.*, (5) *vivittasaṃsāra-bhā.*, (6) *kammāsava-bhā.*, (7) *saṃvara-bhā.*, (8) *viñijjara-bhā.*, 9() *loga-vitthara-bhā.*, (10) *dhammaṃ suyak-khāyaṃ suppannattaṃ tittayarehiṃ*, (11) *tatta-cintā-bhā.*, (12) *bohī sudullahā jammaṃtara-koḍhi vi tti bhāvaṇā* This list, as compared with that in the Tattvārtha-sūtra, is wanting in *asūcitva-bhā.*, and *tattva-cintā-bhāvaṇā* seems to be additional: any way the twelvefold enumeration is maintained.

(ix) It is possible to spot³ passages and contexts (though the term *anuppehā* may not have been used there) which can be suitably included under one or the other *anuppehā*, especially *anicca-a.*, *asarāṇa-a.*, *egatta-asuitta.a* *bohidullaha-a.* etc.

(x) In the Paṇhāvāgaraṇāim,⁴ the five Saṃvara-dvāras are mentioned, but they do not, as in the Tattvārthasūtra, include Anuprekṣā; and what are mentioned there as Bhāvanās are quite different from Anuprekṣā for which later on the term *bhāvaṇā* came to be used.

These bits of evidence, both positive and negative, culled together from the present-day Ardhamāgadhi canon lead us to the following conclusions: Anuppehā is recognised right from the beginning as a potent agency

1. English Translation by Jacobi in Sacred Books of the East, vol. 45, chap. 29.

2. W. Schubring: Das Mahanisiha-sutta, Berlin 1918, p. 66. This work is later than piṇḍa—and Oha-Nijjuttī, but in reality, can scarcely be attributed to the Canon with correctness. 'Both language and subject-matter, e. g., the occurrence of Tāntric sayings, the mention of non-canonical writings, etc., seem to indicate a late origin of this work.' M. Winternitz: History of Indian Literature, vol. II, p. 405.

3. Tattvārthasūtra-Jaināgama-samanvaya, Rohtak 1936, pp. 181-2. W. Schubring: Die Lehre der Jainas, Berlin and Leipzig 1935, pp. 193 ff. 198. I have availed myself of some of the observations of W. Schubring in this context.

4. A. C. Sen: A Critical Introduction to the paṇhāvāgaraṇāim, the Tenth Aṅga of the Jaina Canon, Wurzburg 1936, pp. 22 ff.

for the destructino of Karman; it accompanied Dhyāna, or meditation, both Dharmya-dhyāna and Śukla-dhyāna; the four Anuprekṣās of the latter (vide iii above) did not get incorporated, like those of the former (vide i above) in the standardised list of the twelve Anuprekṣās. The twelve Anuprekṣās en bloc are not mentioned in the canon which notes some other Anuprekṣās than those included under the grouping of twelve. Later, these Anuprekṣās, when perhaps treatises were composed on them, came to be included under, or associated with, *svāddhyāya* or study. The first four Anuprekṣās stand as a group and very well represent the memorable themes of ascetic poetry; the next two also can go with them; then the 7th, 8th and 9th stand together as basic dogmas of Jainism; and the last three go together as a positive glorification of the doctrines preached by Jina. Once the twelve Anuprekṣās were enumerated, they served as a basis on which individual authors could compose comprehensive treatises which are not only valuable doctrines but also repositories of great ethical sermons and of didactic poetry of abiding moral value and appeal.

NOTES ON LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN THE PRE-MAURYA PERIOD

(C. 600 - C. 300 B.C.)

By

Dr. Ram Sharan Sharma

Although Ghoshal's *Hindu Revenue System* does not consider the question of land revenue in the centuries preceding the establishment of the Maurya empire, the excellent works of Fick and Mr. & Mrs. Rhys. supplemented by those of B.C. Sen, A. N. Bose and R. N. Mehta, leave little scope for further addition to our knowledge in this respect. There is, however, some justification for the evaluation of generalisations regarding the nature of the royal share realised from the peasants, and of the grants made by the king. While Fick and Rhys Davids hold that the royal share was a tithe levied upon the annual produce in kind (*Social Organisation of N. E. India*, II8-9; *C. H. I. i*, 177), Bühler thinks that it was ground rent (*ZDMG*, 47, 466 ff.). The available data do not permit us to reject or accept any one of these views entirely. That the tithe system prevailed can be inferred from the Jātaka story in which a setṭhi feels guilty in conscience while plucking some blades from the untithed field (Fousböll's edn., ii, 378). On the other hand the two references which relate to the measuring of field by royal officers are capable of being interpreted in a way which may suggest some sort of ground rent (*J.*, ii, 376, iv, 169). Bühler compares the *rajjugāhaka-amacca* with the Land Revenue Settlement Officer of British India and suggested that the measurement was done for the purpose of assessing of ground rent (*J.* ii, 378; *ZDMG*? 47, 468-70). But Fick surmises that measurement may have been done with the object of obtaining an approximate idea of the amount of rent payable by the subjects to the king or to determine from the extent of the land the average produce to be brought to the king's storeroom (*Op. Cit.* I49). Nevertheless the fact that in measuring the field the *rajjugāhaka-amacca* was conscious of doing nothing which might cause loss either to the rājā or to the *khettsāmika* or *kuṭumba* (*J.*, ii, 376) lends strength to Bühler's hypothesis that the land was measured for the purpose of levying rent on it. But whether this was the normal practice throughout the north-eastern regions cannot be stated. Pāṇini refers to officers called *kṣetrakara*, who divided the cultivable land into plots by survey and measurement and fixed their area (*V. S. Agrawala, India as known to Pāṇini*, 142, 197). Here also we have no means to find out whether these plots were demarcated for purposes of taxation, although the possibility cannot be ruled out. Another reference in Pāṇini (vi.3.10) has been taken to mean, that an impost of two or three *pāda* coins was levied on every *hala* or plough-measure of land (*Agrawala, Op. Cit.*, 414-5) in eastern India. This interpretation of the *Kāśikā* in its comment to *kāranāmnī ca prācām halādaū* may be applied to the state of affairs in Pre-Maurya times, but its mention of three other taxes, in the same connection, levied respectively on households, individuals, and hand-mills (*Ibid.*), may be perhaps true of the conditions existing during the seventh century A.D., when this commentary was written.

Theoretically, as head of the community, the king was the owner of all the land, a position which developed out of the Vedic custom, according to which no land could be alienated without the consent of the *viś*. The functions of such royal officers as *kṣetrakaras*, *rājakammikas* (J., iv. 169), etc. show that in many cases the king exercised this right effectively. But, as regards taxes on the general peasantry, the early Pāli texts hardly give any indication that the king made these levies by virtue of his being the owner of soil. The almost contemporary lawbook of Gautama, however, states that the king was entitled to *bali* because of the protection afforded by him to the people (x. 28 with the comm. of Haradatta, Ānandāśrama edn.). But Maskarin comments that taxes are to be paid by the cultivators on the plots of land which they obtain from the king (Comm. to *Gaut.*, x. 24); we cannot say how far this is applicable to the pre-Maurya period. Gautama adds that the rate of *bali* should be 1-6, 1-8 and 1-10 (x. 24), which Haradatta rightly interprets as differing according to the fertility of soil. It is obvious, then, that assessment of taxes was done in relation to the fertility of land, and that there was no uniform rate irrespective of the nature of the yields. This might suggest that the idea of land rent was gradually developing.

It is interesting to examine the terms used for taxes during this period. *Bali* stands for voluntary offering, although this was not the case in the post-Vedic period. But *bhāga* and *kara* respectively show that the king was entitled to his share or that he could realise 'taxes' from the people. We may add that in ancient Assyria also the term 'gift' was used for regular taxes for a long time in spite of the fact that the subjects were compelled to make these payments (Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, London, 1923, 516). It would appear that what constituted gift by clansmen at one stage became taxes later. In ancient India there continued for some time the contradiction between the terminology and actual content. Thus although taxes were compulsory in pre-Maurya times, the most frequently used term in the Jātakas is not *bhāga* (ii, 378) but Gautama uses the term *kara* (x. II) and Pāṇini a more emphatic word *kāra*. (Agrawala, *Op. cit.*, 415). Later the two terms *bhāga* and *kara* came to be used more frequently. In course of time *bhāga* came to be regarded as the principal form of land tax and the king came to be known as *śadbhāgin*, with the result that in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya *bali* figured as one of the several taxes connected with land (ii. 15).

How far the peasant communities strove to maintain the traditional and customary rate of *bali*, coming down from the Vedic period, is difficult to say. In spite of the exhortation that the king should levy taxes only in accordance with dhamma (J., iv, 399, 400), there are several instances of oppressive taxes in the Jātakas (ii, 240; iv, 224, v, 98), which suggest that the king was sufficiently powerful to increase taxes, either in order to fill up his coffers or to harass the people. He could also remit taxes (J., iv, 169). The fact that the king could enhance and remit *bali* shows that this was no longer treated as a voluntary offering but was a tax imposed on the people by the king.

It is curious that *bali* was not realised in money, for we find that incomes of villages were estimated in terms of money and in some cases even hired labourers were paid in cash. But in the early Pāli texts there is no indication of tithe in kind being commuted into money rent. Nevertheless, as shown earlier, it can be inferred from Pāṇini that in eastern India money rental was imposed on every plough-measure of land. Generally

money economy was not so advanced as to eliminate the payment of royal share in kind. That *bali* was synonymous with payment in kind is clear from the fact that at one place, in the same compound, *bali* and *kāhāpaṇa* are mentioned as two separate impositions (J., ii, 240). The term *nivāsavetana*, occurring in a Jātaka story (i, 194), can be taken in the sense of house rent, but here also payment is made not in cash but in ox.

Unless the doubtful term *bhāga-dugha*, literally 'milcher of the share' or 'distributor', is taken in the sense of 'tax-collector' (VI, ii, 100), we have hardly any evidence of any machinery for revenue collection during the Vedic period. But in post-Vedic times we come across about half a dozen officers who worked as tax-collectors, not to speak of the *gāmabhojaka*, and a few others who were connected with the work of assessment and measuring grain for storing it in the royal granary. But the precise functions of the *gāmabhojaka* and royal collectors, and their mutual relations, cannot be determined. Fick's view that the *gāmabhojaka* was an official appointed to collect the revenue of a village for the king has rightly been questioned (B.C. Sen, *JDL*, 20, 105), for he relies upon a solitary passage in the introductory episode of a Jātaka story (i, 354). But since the *gāmabhojaka* could impose and realise fines from the villagers in the case of minor disputes, (J., i, 483) and offences of murder etc. committed, by drunkards (J., i, 199) it is likely that he acted as royal collector as well. Besides, in the earlier stage we cannot expect so much differentiation of functions that the *gāmabhojaka* would act as local magistrate and judge, and that the functions of the tax-collector would be entirely taken away from him. Therefore, in contrast to a set of officers who were exclusively charged with the work of revenue collection, this seems to have been only among the several functions of the *gāmabhojaka*; for he also settled local disputes, maintained law and order (J., i, 199, 483), sometimes interdicted cowslaughter (J., iv, 115), and occasionally helped villagers in times of distress (J., ii, 135). It is beyond doubt that the institution of *gāmabhojaka* was almost universal, but there is not much evidence that he acted as a regular collector of taxes appointed by the king. Further, the office of the *gāmabhojaka* was not a device for providing revenues to favourites and *brāhmaṇas*. In fact, the office of the *gāmabhojaka*, in spite of its being the lowest rung in the ladder, was an important part of the administrative machinery, which was headed by the commander-in-chief (J., v, v, 484). *Gāmaṇis* are also mentioned as village headmen, who seem to have been king's favourites living in luxury (J., iv, 310), but there is no proof that they acted as regular royal collectors and enjoyed revenues raised from the villages (Cf. *JDI*, 24, 16). It is likely that the office of the village headman, whether of the *gāmabhojaka* or the *gāmaṇi*, was elective in the beginning, but in course of time he came to be an officer of the king, with the result that he became less representative of the interests of the local folk.

The *gāmabhojaka* was not an absentee landlord, as is suggested by a recent writer (A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, i, 39). It cannot be proved that revenues were allotted to the village headman; in this respect the literal meaning of the term cannot be taken as indicating the real position of the *gāmabhojaka*. In several passages of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii. 12. 14. 17) the term *bhoja* seems to be used as a king's title (VI, ii, 112). In the Gupta period the *bhogikas* and *bhogikapālakas* appear as officers of the king. Even the evidence that the *gāmabhojaka* collected royal dues from the peasants is not strong

but to regard him as the lord of the land of the village will be stretching the imagination too far.

As regards half a dozen royal collectors mentioned in the Jātakas, although their names differ, there is nothing to show that they were placed in charge of different taxes. On the contrary, we have positive evidence that they all were connected with the collection of *bali*, which was the chief royal tax. One of these, the *yutta* (J., v, 117) can be identified with Pāṇini's *āyukta*, which was a general term for government servants engaged in routine work (Agrawal, *Op. Cit.*, 498). In the case of special assignments they were called *niyukta* (*Ibid.*) who seem to be the same as the *nityuktaḥ* mentioned by Gautama (x. 29). The commentators take two views of the functions of this officer. Haradatta points out that they were appointed among the cultivators for their protection, but he quotes another view that this officer was employed for collecting *bali* etc. (Comm. to Gautama, x. 29). The latter is obviously the opinion of Maskarin, for, explaining the term *balidāna* in Gautama, x. 23, he states that royal dues known as *rājagrahaṇam* or *balagrahaṇam* should be paid annually to the *niyukta* by those who live on agriculture (*Dharmakośa* i, pt. 3, 1661). Thus *nityukta* and *niyukta* of Gautama stand for the same officer, and the interpretation of *niyukta* as a tax-collector suits the text better, for the term is used in connection with *bali*. Another class of tax-collector, the *tundiya*s were not regular tax officers but a special class of collectors, employed to realise *bali* from the people by subjecting them to beating and binding (J., gāthā with comm. v, 102-3). The *akāsiya*s were also oppressive tax-collectors (J., vi, 212, gāthā) who dispossessed the cultivators of their earnings. So the *tundiya*s and *akāsiya*s were special officers, appointed to raise taxes on behalf of the king in times of emergency or to collect additional taxes. But this does not seem to have been the case with the *balisādhakas* (J., v, 106), and *niggāhakas* (J., iv, 362) who also are put in the commentary (*Ibid.*) as *balisādhakas*; these two probably were ordinary tax-collectors, normally collecting *bali* from the people. The term *balipatigāhaka* has also been interpreted as tax-collector (Fick, *Op. cit.*, 120), but this should be taken in the sense of 'receiver of offerings or oblations' (s. v. *PTS Pāli-English Dictionary*). The *rājakammika*s were, however, regular tax-collectors who measured land and realised taxes (J., iv, 169). Pāṇini mentions a class of officers known as *kārakas*, who were entrusted with the raising of taxes in eastern India (Agrawal, *Op. cit.*, 415), but the work of measuring land was done by the *kṣetrakas*. Another officer connected with land revenue work was the *rajjugāhaka-amacca*, who may have been primarily an assessor of taxes rather than a collector. Thus although we have no clear idea about the exact functions of each of these collectors, the fact of the revenue machinery being more organised and developed in post-Vedic times than what we find in the Vedic period seems to be undoubted.

An important point to be examined in this connection is the relation between different classes of tax-collectors. Fick points out that taxes were paid to the official who represented the king in the province allotted to him (*Op. cit.*, 120). But he does not make it clear who these officials were and what was their relation with the royal collectors we have noticed above. Similarly he states that, in the village, revenues were given to the *gāmabhojaka* (*Ibid.*). But if the *gāmabhojaka* collected taxes from the cultivators in all cases, what was the necessity of employing three or four other officers for the purpose? Besides, how did they function in relation

to the village superintendent ? Unfortunately for lack of further data these questions cannot be answered satisfactorily.

The question has been raised whether there was any considerable class of intermediaries connected with land during this period. A recent writer, while dealing with the position of the *gāmabhojaka*, points out that there intervened in Indian land system a powerful class of intermediaries somewhat analogous to the modern landlords. (Bose, *Op. cit.*, i. 38). In our opinion this statement can be applied in some measure to those *brāhmaṇas* who were granted land by the king, and not to the *gāmabhojakas* who were either representatives of the local folk or regular officers appointed by the king and dismissed by him when occasion demanded it.

Whether there were manorial lords during this period depends upon the correct interpretation of certain terms such as *brahmadeyya* and *rāja-bhogga*. The explanation of Buddhaghōṣa that the grants mentioned in the early Pāli cannons carried with them administrative and judicial rights (*Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, i, 246) may be true of the conditions existing in the fifth century A.D. when the commentator flourished, but may not suit the state of affairs in the pre-Maurya period. Therefore the inference of Rhys Davids that the practice of the grant to local notabilities of local government can be traced back to the time of the Buddha (*CHI*, i, 159) cannot be sustained by evidence. The states being comparatively smaller in area, even the local affairs could be managed by the officers of the king. Although there are several instances of *brahmadeyya* grants in Kosala and Magadha, mentioned in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (i, 87, 111, 114, 131, 224), significantly enough neither the word *akara* nor any other word indicating immunity of taxes is found in the string of adjectives qualifying the land granted. The absence of the list of exemptions may lead us to the presumption that the grantees had to pay some tribute to the king (*Cf. Sen, JDL* 20, 106). And hence, compared to the grants of the post-Maurya and Gupta periods, the pre-Maurya grants were of a very limited nature. The *brahmadeyya* grants of this period did not carry those privileges which we find later.

The term *rāja-bhoggaṃ* is another important word in the grants of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Op. Cit.*), the precise meaning of which is a matter of dispute. In the opinion of T. W. Rhys Davids *raja-bhogga* was a form of tenure the holder of which was empowered to exact all dues accruing to the government within the boundaries of the district or estate granted to him. He could hold his own courts, and occupied in many ways the position of a baron, or lord of the manor, except that he could draw no rent (*CHI*, i, 159). But, in the cluster of adjectives qualifying such grants, the term *raja-bhoggaṃ* should be taken in the sense of 'royal' or 'that enjoyed by the king?' and not in the sense of "a grant to be enjoyed by the grantee in the same way as the king does it", as has been done in the translation of this term by Rhys Davids in the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i, 108. In the grants in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the form of the tenure is indicated not by the word *rāja-bhogga* but by the word *brahmadeyya*, which is a well-recognised form of tenure in brahmanical texts and inscriptions of the later periods. Fick cites several references to show that the *rāja-bhoggas* were a class of officers in the pay of the king, and equates them with the *rājanyas* (*Op. Cit.*, 153). This may hold good of the references he quotes (*Ibid.*, 152), but does not apply to the above references cited from the *Dīgha Nikāya*. The com-

mentary explains *rāja-bhoggaṃ*, as “*rāja lādhaṃ bhoggaṃ*”, i.e. the meal or domain acquired by the king (*SW* ? i, 245); this evidently refers to royal possession. It is likely that during this period *brahmadeyya* grants were made only out of royal domain or crown land, and not out of the land held by the communities of peasant proprietors.

A similar term *bhogagāma*, which often occurs in the Jātakas, apparently means a village given by the king to his favourites for enjoyment; there is hardly anything to show that *bhogagāmas* were granted to people for rendering administrative or other services to the state. It was a mark of favour bestowed by the king upon anybody with whom he was pleased, so much so that a *bhogagāma* could be conferred even upon a barber (*J.*, i, 138). A passage from the Jātaka (i, 354) has been interpreted to mean that the *amacca* was the *bhogaka* of a village which was given by the king for his enjoyment as remuneration for his office (Bose, *Op. Cit.*, i, 43; Cf. *CHI*, i, 177). But the passage in question makes it very clear that this particular *amacca* was entrusted with the duty of collecting royal revenues (*rājabali*) from a village; for when he conspired with the robbers to carry off the taxes collected for the king he was heavily punished. Another reference (*J.* vi 261) on the basis of which it has been stated that a monarch could endow a minister with the contributions of the *gāmas* (*CHI* i 177) should not create the impression that the grant was made to the minister in return for his administrative services. In this particular case sixteen excellent villages (probably conventional in number) were granted to a minister as a reward for his ability to provide the right solution to a philosophical question namely the definition of an ascetic; and further in this case the minister was the *Budhisatta*. The view that the ministers got as their chief remuneration villages together with cows, chariots, elephants etc. De, *JDL*, 24, 10; *J.*, vi, 363), and that salaries and food were additional payments (*Ibid.*) does not seem to be sound. In fact, they were given *bhatta-vetana* primarily as their remuneration, and villages were an additional favour occasionally bestowed on them when the king so pleased. The specific purpose for the grant of villages mentioned in the Jātakas is the reward for wise or religious instruction imparted to the king by the *Bodhisatta* (*J.*, i, 365, iii, 229, vi, 344). Most of the grants of the *bhogagāmas* refer to their enjoyment by the *purohita* (*J.*, ii, 428-9, *gāthā*, 117, iii, 105, iv, 473). Thus it will appear that generally these villages were granted to those who were the chief advisers and religious instructors to the king, and not to the *amātyas*. In spite of the fact that the grantees enjoyed the revenues of these villages, it is obviously wrong to translate *bhogagāmas* as *zemindaries*, as has been done in several cases in the Jātaka translations; for the donees enjoyed no proprietary rights whatsoever in the villages granted to them.

Taking the grants as a whole, certain points seem to be clear. Firstly, although the king had the power to make grants, he was not under the obligation to do so, as seems to have been the practice in post-Maurya and Gupta times. Secondly, grants were made for spiritual and religious services. Thirdly, these grants were probably *tenable* for lifetime. (This inference is, however, not based on the wrong translation of a passage in the *J.*, ii, 428-9, *gāthā* 117. The term *gāmavaraṃ* therein should be translated as *prosperous village*, and not as “for life”, which Rouse has done). Further, the grants give neither any indication of being passed on to the descendants of the grantees nor of the obligation imposed by the donor on his successors to maintain these grants under threats of imprecations. Fourthly, there is nothing to show that the *bhogagāmas* were free from tributes to the king.

The dominant role of the kṣatriyas during this period might suggest that they realised taxes even from the brāhmaṇa donees.

It is also of some relevance to examine the usual mode of payment made to the officers and other employees of the king. The common term used for remuneration is *bhatta-vetana*. At one place it has been translated as food-money (J., iv, 132 Tr. J., iv, 84.). But Horner renders *rañño bhatta-vetanāhāro* as "living on a salary and food from a king" (*The Book of Discipline*, ii, 67). Probably the latter meaning is correct. Apparently the term *vetana* cannot be taken literally as cash payment, but, in the case of the reference quoted above, we can well presume that there was no necessity of paying the officers again in kind if they were already given provisions. Therefore, wherever the term *vetana* is compounded with *bhatta*, it may be taken in the sense of cash payment. Accordingly the statement that elephant troops and chariotmen, royal guard and infantry were given *bhatta-vetana* (J., iv, 143, *gāthā* 100) should mean that, besides provisions for maintenance, they were paid cash salary by the king. There is also a reference to the increase of the *vetana* of his elephant-driver, or his life-guardsmen, his chariot-soldier or his foot-soldier by the king (J., vi, 295), which may suggest that in this case salaries were paid in cash. The army organisation was not based on the land system, as we find it in Assyria. Hence in pre-Maurya times soldiers were not allotted land for subsistence, although in the Maurya period the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya refers to villages supplying soldiers and thus enjoying freedom from taxation (ii. 35). In some cases even hired labourers were paid in cash (J., iii, 326). Moreover, whether it is the income of a village (J. i, 138,) or payment to a youth skilled in tracking footsteps (J., iii, 505), or to an archer (J., v, 128), or gift to the Great Being (J., vi, 462), the amount stated in each case is a thousand pieces of money. Obviously this figure is conventional, as is inevitable in folk literature, but all this undoubtedly establishes the possibility of payment in cash to the officers and employees of the king. Nevertheless, since revenues were collected in kind, officers may also have been paid in kind supplemented by cash. And hence there is not much ground to suppose that payment was made to the amātyas and other royal officers by grants of land revenues,—a practice which became general from the post-Gupta period onwards.

It is contended that absentee landlordism prevailed in the pre-Maurya period (Bose, *Op. Cit.*, i, 39). But, in citing two Jātaka passages as evidence for this, reliance has been placed on their wrong translation in Cowell's edition. In one case the correct translation should be "the householder Alāra who lives in the city of Mithilā", and not "the land-owner Alāra"; for the term *kuṭumbika* (J., v, 164) cannot be translated as landlord, as has been done in J., Tr. v, 86. Similarly the passage *ekaṃ nimantanam bhuñjanatthāya gantvā* (J., i, 413) should be translated as "the Bodhisatta, who was a rich merchant, had gone to a village to attend a feast dinner", and not as "... had been to a village to collect his dues", as has been done in J., Tr. i, 245. There is no doubt, however, that Anāthapiṇḍika was an absentee landlord (J. i, 412 present story, 441), but this generalisation cannot be applied to the other grantees or landowners. We have also an instance in which the Bodhisatta sent his men to receive the revenue of those villages which King Cūlaṇi had given him (J., vi, 463). But such stories very much exaggerate the amount and nature of gifts made to the Bodhisatta the idea being to provide a moral for the common people—and even if we accept these in essentials, the cases of

such land-lords enjoying the revenues of villages where they did not live were very few.

Really speaking, we have some landlords who got their land cultivated by slaves and hired labourers (*J.*, iii, 293, iv, 276; *Sutta Nipāta*, i. 4; *J.* ii, 181). They can be better characterised as big peasant proprietors who had their surplus land cultivated by gangs of agricultural labourers, and, therefore, were not in any sense analogous to the modern landlords who live upon the revenues collected from their tenants. Basically Mrs. Rhys Davids' conclusion that in the time of the Buddha the rural economy was based on peasant proprietorship seems to be sound. It may be added that there were some big peasant proprietors possessing holdings of 500 or 1000 *karīsas* (acres ?), but mostly the peasant holdings were just enough to be worked by their individual owners. As regards the various kinds of tenure, very probably the term *rājābhogga* does not indicate any kind of land tenure. There are many instances of *bhogagāmas* and *bhrahmadeyya* grants, but the grantees cannot be described as manorial lords in any sense of the term. Mrs. Rhys Davids speaks of some rural autocrats having country-seat, tenant-farmers and serfs (*CHI*, i. 178), but this statement cannot be applied to the grantees. Country-seat implies residence in towns as well, which, in most cases, does not seem to be true of the grantees. Since land did not belong to them, they cannot be described as possessing tenant-farmers. Similarly although the *bhogagāmas* were settled villages, the tenants settled therein were not reduced to the position of serfs because the grantees could not increase taxes on the inhabitants of the villages granted to them. This is clear that most tenants maintained direct relation with the king through the royal collectors and the *gāmabhojaka*, and that the number of intermediaries in the land system was negligible. Notwithstanding the reproach with which the *niggāhakas* were looked upon by the people, the peasantry had to pay hardly any other tax except *bali*; thus it was not burdened with those taxes on land which are prescribed by the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and which can be inferred from the long list of exemptions provided in the copper-plate grants made to the brāhmaṇas and temples in later times.

GEOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE FROM THE KĀŚYAPA SAMHITĀ

By

Dr. Umakant P. Shah, Deputy Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.

The Kāśyapa Samhitā or Vṛddha-Jīvaka-Tantra¹ is a medical treatise, chiefly devoted to diseases etc., of children (Kaumārabhr̥tyam Section of the Āyurveda). The treatise, in its present form, is not later than c. 300 A.D. and incorporates in it, earlier portions and traditions of the original work of Vṛddha-Jīvaka, who, if he is the same as Vaidya Jīvaka, the contemporary of Buddha, can be assigned to c. 5th Century B.C.

The text was re-edited by one Vātsya who says that he obtained it by the grace of *Anāyāsa Yakṣa* (vide, Kāśyapa Samhitā, p. 191). Obviously this is a reference to Anāyāsa Yakṣa, the City-God of kauśāmbī in the Vatsa country referred to by the Buddhist text Mahāmāyūrī² and supports the conclusion that the text handed down to us dates from c. 3rd Century A.D.³

Age of the Kāśyapa Samhitā has been discussed by Pandit Hemaraja Sharma who places Jīvaka the original author in a much earlier age. But Shri Durgashankar Shastri is right in identifying this Jīvaka with Buddha's contemporary of the same time.

Kāśyapa Samhitā is full of interesting *data*; and some tantric evidence, e.g. the reference to Mātangi Vidyā, etc., was discussed earlier by me in IHQ. Vol. XXIX, No. 3 September 1953, pp. 260 ff. and the reference to Toys in the same work has been discussed in the Journal of the M.S. University of Baroda, Vol. V, No. 1 (March, 1956), pp. 1-5. The text contains some interesting geographical data which are discussed below.

There is a section containing references to different countries and the dietary habits of the people in those countries. Unfortunately the text of K. S. is not fully recovered, the MS. is incomplete and of the देशसात्म्याध्याय which is chapter 25th in the खिलस्थान of the K. S., only 14 verses are preserved. The physician must know the diet of the people of different lands before he begins their treatment, since without a knowledge of these facts how can *cikitsā* be started? A question is put to Bhāgavān Kāśyapa about these facts and Kāśyapa first takes up the Kurukṣetra.

1. *Kāśyapa Samhitā* edited by Vaidyarāja Jādvajī Trikamjī Āchārya (Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1938) with a Lengthy Sanskrit Introduction by Pandit Rājaguru Hemarāja Sharmā of Nepal.

2. The Mahāmāyūrī list of places and Yakṣas has been discussed by S. Levi, JA for 1915. Levi's discussion has been translated into English with additional notes by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in J. U. P. H. S. Vol. XV, No. 2, (December, 1942), (pp. 24—52).

3. For further arguments see *Āyurveda no Itihāsa*, (Gujarati, Ahmedabād, 1942) by Durgashanker K. Shastri, pp. 83-85.

The original passage is quoted below:—

अथातो देशसात्भ्याध्यायं व्याख्यास्यामः ॥१॥
 इति ह स्माह भगवान्काश्यपः ॥२॥
 काश्यपाख्यं ऋषिश्रेष्ठं पृष्ठवान्.....रोचतः ।
 देशसात्भ्यमजानन्तः कथं कुर्युश्चिकित्सितम् ॥३॥
 कस्य देशस्य मध्ये तु कुरुक्षेत्रं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
 इत्येवमुक्तो भगवान्काशिराजो महामुनिः ॥४॥
 इदमुत्तरमकिलष्टं व्याख्यातुमुपचक्रमे ।
 कुरुक्षेत्रं मध्यदेशा योजनानां शतं परम् ॥५॥
 समस्तान्पद्मसान्प्रायो भुञ्जते मध्यदेशजाः ।
 भक्ष्यभोज्यान्नवीरास्ते तु भुञ्जन्तो वाऽसकृत्तथा ॥६॥
 पूर्वदेशस्तु विज्ञेयो मधुरः शीतलो गुरुः ।
 कुमारवर्तनीमा (चा) दौ कटीवर्षस्तथैव च ॥७॥
 मगधासु महाराष्ट्रमृषभद्वीपमेव च ।
 पौण्ड्रवर्धनकं चापि मृत्तिकावर्धमानकम् ॥८॥
 कवटं च समातङ्गं तास (अ) लिप्तं सचीरकम् ।
 प्रियङ्गुमथ कौशल्यं कलिङ्गपृष्ठपूरकम् ॥९॥
 एषु प्लीहविनो मर्त्या गलगण्डिकमेव च ।
 गुडशाल्योदनप्राया मत्स्यभोजनसेविनः ॥१०॥
 प्रायशो मधुराहारा वातश्लेष्मात्मका नराः ।
 तेषां कटुकतिक्तं च रूक्षमुष्णं च भोजनम् ॥११॥
 यच्चान्यदपि श्लेष्मन् तेषां तत्तत्प्रयोजयेत् ।
 कञ्चीपदा नवध्वाना कावीरास्तुल्ययोरपि ॥१२॥
 वानसी कुमुदाराज्यं चिरिपालिस्तथैव च ।
 चौरराज्यञ्च चोराणां पुलिन्द (न्दं) द्रविडेषु च ॥१३॥
 करवाटशानानां च विवे (दे) हा मण्डपेषु च ।
 कान्तारं च वराहं च घटास्वाभीरमेव च ॥१४॥
 दक्षिणां दिशमाश्रित्य देशा वि..... (इति ताडपत्रपुस्तके २६४ तमं पत्रम्)^१

Now, according to the printed text of the Kāśyapa Sāmhita (Vol. 4-5) *Kuruksetra* is one hundred yojanas from Madhyadesa, People living in the Madhyadesa enjoy taking (diet containing) all the six Rasas or flavours (kaṭu, amla, tikta etc.). They are fond of eating, more than once, and partake of *bhaksya* (fruits etc. which can be cut with teeth, *lehya* preparations etc.), *bhojya* (light diet, breakfast etc. which is not a full meal) and *anna* (cooked food, meat etc.).

Kuruksetra according to the text as it is printed, is thus outside Madhyadesa. Now the *Kuru* was known to Panini (IV. 1. 72) as a janapada and a kingdom. He also mentions Hastinapur (VI, 2, 101) which was its capital. As Dr. Agrawal writes, "The region between the triangle of Thaneshwar, Hisar, and Hastinapur was distinguished by three different names. *Kuruksetra* proper between the Ganga and Yamuna with its capital at Hastinapur, *Kurujangala* equal to Rohtak, Hansi and Hissar, and *Kuru ksetra* to the north with its centre at Thaneshwar, Kaithal, Karnal. The

1. I have quoted above the text as given by the Editor with his own emendations in the brackets, Kāś. Sam. p. 337.

Kāśikā mentions all the three as geographical units. . . .¹ Madhyadesa is described in the Dharmasutras of Baudhyana as lying to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī vanishes to the west of Kalakavana, (a tract somewhere near Prayaga) to the north of Pāriyātra and to the south of the Himalayas.² Manu defines it as extending from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhyadesa in the south and from Vinaśana in the west of Prayaga in the east.³ Thus Kuruksetra should be a part of Aryavarta or Madhyadesa and not outside it. I would like to emend the reading of v. 5b as *kurukṣetram Madhyadeśeṣojanānām śātam varam* (or *yojanānām śātatrayam*?).

The Pūrvadeśa or Eastern India (India to the east of this Madhyadeśa) includes Kumāra-vartanī, Kaṭivarṣa, Magadha, the great rāṣṭra known as Rṣabhadvīpa (*sumahārāṣṭram-rṣabhadvīpam*), Paundravardhana, Mṛttikāvardhamāna, Kavaṭa (Karvaṭa according to Pt. Hemaraja Sharma, Intro. p. 137), Mātaṅga, Tāmralipta, Cīraka (emended as Cīnaka by Pandit-Sharma, ibidem), Priyaṅgu, Kauśalya (Kośala), Kāliṅga and Prṣṭhapūraka. (Kalingaprṣṭhapūrakam-vv. 7-9). People of these lands (generally) have enlarged spleens (plīhavino martyāḥ)⁴ and scrofulous glands (galagaṇḍikam). Their usual diet is treacle (guḍa) and cooked-rice (śālyodana) and they enjoy fish-diet. They generally like sweet and tasteful (*madhura*) dishes and hence their constitution has a tendency to diseases produced by *vāta* and *pitta*. For them should be prescribed (as pathya-bhojana) a diet which is bitter and pungent to taste and which is free from fat. Whatever else removes cough should be prescribed to them.

The Pūrvadeśa is pleasing and cold (madhura, śīta) and the climate is such as would make food heavy to digest (guruḥ).

Next verse seems to refer to the following southern lands but the text is corrupt. Before passing to these verses 12 ff, we might consider the Eastern lands mentioned above. *Kumāravartanī*: A Kumāra-deśa⁵ is mentioned in Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan, Adhyāya 29. Pandit Hemaraj Sarma identifies it with Kumaradesa near Reva State.

Now Ptolemy refers to the five mouths of the Ganges, namely, "the Kambyson mouth, the most Western, the second mouth called Mega; the third mouth called Kamberikhon, the fourth styled Pseudostomon; and the fifth mouth, Antobole. . . The Kumberikhon is said to represent the Kobb-adak or Kabadak (Kapotaksa), the "Cobbaduck" of Rennell's map, which flows past Jhinkargaccha. Another possible explanation would be with the Kumāra (Kumāraka) river which issues out of the Mātābhāṅgā branch of the Padma and joining the Gorai, ultimately empties itself into the Harin-ghātā estuary and the Ārialkhān. B. C. Law identifies Kumārī river with "modern Kumari" which waters Dalma hills in Manbhum".⁶

1. Agrawal, V. S. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 54.

2. Law, B. C. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 12.

3. Ibid, p. 12; Kane, P. V.. *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II., pt. 1; pp. 13-15. *Manusmṛiti*, II. 17-24.

4. The text of Kāś. Sans. show that the language was possibly Hybrid Sanskrit. Some corrections were possibly made by Vātsyā when he re-edited (pratisaṁskṛtā)

5. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca Univ., 194c), p. 11.

6. Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 45 and *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 231.

But if Kumāravartanī is to be identified with Kumāradeśa, then possible identification may be with Kumāravana, which Nanda Lal Dey identifies with Kumaun district of the Himalayas.¹ Dr. Motichandra identifies Kumaravisya of M. B. H. 23. 71 with Gazia and Balia districts of the Uttara Pradesh, the Chan-Chu of Hiuen Tsang.² Kumāravartanī may either be Kumāra Khālī in Nadia Dist. Bengal (Imp. Gaz. XVI, p. 18) or Kumārapātā, ancient town, now known as Hālīsahar, in Barrackpore subdivision of the 24 paraganas, situated on the east bank of the Hooghly (Imp. Gaz. XIII. p. 11).

Kaṭivarṣa—It seems to be the same as *Koṭivarṣa* and *Kaṭivarṣa* may be a scribal error. “*Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya* is already mentioned in Gupta inscriptions. The city from which it derives its name is referred to in the *Vāyupurāṇa*. The Jaina *Prajñāpanā sūtra* places it in the *Rāḍha* (*Lāḍha*). But the Gupta and Pāla inscriptions invariably include it within the *Puṇḍravardhana bhukti*. The head quarters of the *Viṣaya* have been identified with the mediaeval Diw-Koṭ (*Devakoṭ* or *Devikoṭa*).³ It may be noted that in our text, *Kaṭivarṣa* is not included in *Paṇḍravardhanakam*. It will be seen that nowhere does the text give the names of *Rāḍha* or *Lāḍha* or of *Vaṅga* and *Gauḍa*. Pt. Hemaraja Sharma identified it with modern *Katwā* in *Burdwan*. Identity of *Koṭivarṣa* is now fairly established though the boundary of the *Koṭivarṣa viṣaya* in our text might have been bigger than in the time of Gupta inscriptions. The *Mahāmāyūri* list (1. 62) refers to *Yakṣa Mahāsena* at *Koṭivarṣa*.⁴

Magadha of course is well known.⁵ It is, indeed, surprising to find that *Magadha* is placed between *Kativarṣa* and *Rṣabhadvīpa* all the three coming after *Kumaravartanī*. The expression is *magadhāsumahārāṣṭra-mṛṣabhadvīpameva* ca. Does it refer to some eastern part of the *Magadha* known as *Mahārāṣṭra*? If that is so can *Rāṣṭra* be equalled with *Radha* and then with *Ladha*? If this line is emended as *magadhā-Suhma-Rāḍham* ca. *Rṣabhadvīpameva* ca, then the meaning would be more clear. Ancient *Rāḍha* included *Suhma* and *Gauḍa*, all making Western Bengal. *Koṭivarṣa* was also a part of *Lāḍha* or *Kāḍha* according to the Jaina *Prajñāpanā sūtrā*. We may, therefore, suggest *Suhmarāṣṭram*.⁶

Rṣabhadvīpa is puzzling. Pandit Sharma has noted the reference to *Rṣabha* in MBH. *Vanaparva* Adh. 85 and has also shown that *Bṛhat-samhitā* refers to *Rṣabha* in the South which is identified by some with the *Rṣabha-Parvata* near *Madura* (Intro. to K. S. p. 137). But as shown by Pandit Sharma, our author refers to some other *Rṣabha-dvīpa* which must be in the East. The *Rṣabhadvīpa* may be one of the islands in the Bay of Bengal near *Noakhali*.

1. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*. 2nd ed., I. 927, p. 107.

2. See, Moti Chandra *Sārthavāha*, p. 21.

3. *His. of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 25.

4. Levi's article on translated by Dr. V. S. Agrawal in *JOPHS*. XV, p. 2. p. 44. Also references to this list given here are to this English translation.

For *Kotivarsa*, also see, Law B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 230.

5. Law B. C., *Ibid.*, pp. 232 ff.

6. For *Suhma*, see, Moti Chandra, *Geographical & Economic Studies*, p. 109; Nand Lal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary* (2nd ed., 1927) p. 195; Law B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, pp. 261-62.

Paṇḍravardhanaka: referred to in MBH. II. 48. 15 in the account of Bhīma's conquests.¹ Having killed the king of Modagiri (Monghyr) he fell on the mighty lord of the Puṇḍras as well as the potentate who ruled on the banks of the river Kosi. Having defeated them he attacked the king of the Vaṅgas. Next he reduced to subjection the lord of the Tāmralipta (modern Tāmluk in the Midnapur District) and Karvaṭa, apparently a neighbouring place, as well as the rulers of the Suhmas (in the present Hooghly district), those who lived in maritime regions, and all the hordes of outlandish barbarians. Then he advanced to the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra).² Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti is mentioned in Gupta inscriptions ranging from years 124 to 224, that is, from 444 to 544.³ In the records of the Pāla-Sena age it is variously styled Puṇḍra or Pauṇḍra-varḍhana or simply Puṇḍra-bhukti. It seems to have been the biggest administrative division or province of the Gauda empire. It extended from the summit of the Himalayas in the north to Khadi in the Sundarban region in the South. The Bhagirathi separated it from the Vardhamāna-bhukti in the West.⁴ It is referred to in the Mahāmāyūrī list as Pauṇḍra, in the Ait. Brah. as Puṇḍra amongst the frontier tribes of India, at the very limits of Aryan India with Āndhras and Śābaras. Manu names them side by side with Udra or Orissa. Varāhamihira (Br. Jā, XIV. 7) classes together the Pauṇḍras and the Utkalas.⁴

Mṛttikāvardhamānaka: Vardhamānaka is mentioned in the Mallasarul Plate of the 6th century A.D., the Indra Grant of the tenth century and the Naihati and the Govindapura Grants of the 12th century. It embraced the valley of the Damodara river and is known to have included the Uttara-Rāḍha and Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍalas. . . . It is doubtful if it covered an equally extensive area as early as the 6th century A.D. Varāhamihira distinguishes it not only from Tāmraliptaka (in Midnapore), but also from Gauḍaka (possible corresp. to Murshidabad) and parts of Burdwan, Birbhum and Malda districts). Towards the east the bhukti extended as far as the Western Western branch of the Ganges, now known as the Hooghly.⁵ The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Vetālapancaviṃśati etc. place it north of the Vindhya and in the Devīpurāṇa, adh. 46, Vardhamāna is mentioned⁶ near Vaṅga. Modern Burdwan equated with the Vardhamāna may be taken to have been the core of the ancient Vardhamānaka whose boundary might have changed in different periods. More interesting, however, is the adjective added to by out text. Such an appellation, as far as I know, is not known for the Vardhamāna from any other text. Does Mṛttikā denote the modern Medinipur district? (Mṛttikā=clay or earth, Medini=earth) Vardhamānaka of course may be the Burdwan district.⁷ Mṛttikā must be Rāṅgāmāṭi, an ancient town in the Murshidabad district.⁸

Karvaṭa: The mention of Karvaṭa is noteworthy. We find it in

1. See, Dr. Motichandra, Geographical & Economic studies in the Mahabharata: Upayanaparva, pp. 109-110.

2. His. of Bengal, op. cit. pp. 8-9.

3. Ibid., p. 24, also see Cunningham, Ancient Geography, notes, pp. 723-725.

4. Mahāmāyūrī list, JUPHS., op. cit. p. 41.

5. Hist. of Bengal, I, pp. 26-27. Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 269.

6. Noted by Pt. Sharma, Intro. to K. S. p. 137.

7. King Śālva's territory was also known as Mṛttikāvata or Mṛttikāvati, see Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 66, But this was near Alwar territory.

8. Imp. Gaz., vol. XXI. 212.

the MBH.II. 30 in the account of Bhima's conquests, in the East noted above and seems to have been placed adjoining Tāmralipta, between the latter and Suhma. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri notes,¹ "It is tempting to identify the Karvaṭas with the Kharwars of Midnapore and other districts of Western Bengal (Hunter, III. 49. 51 etc.). The Bṛhatsamhitā also refers to Karvaṭa. According to Shafer, the Karvaṭa would be between Tāmraliptaka and Vaṅga on E. and Sumha on W. or perhaps within Sumha."²

Mālaṅga: As noted by Pt. Sharma (intro.), the Yuktikalpataru places Matangadesa to the S. E. of Kamarupa, and is said to be noteworthy for mines of gems.

Tāmralipta This has been discussed by many scholars and identified with modern Tamluk in the Midnapur district.³ It was a port on the Bay of Bengal. Dr. Motichandra has discussed at length the various references to it, in his Geographical and Economic studies in the Mahābhārata: Upāyana-parva, p. 111. Also see, B. C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 263. Recent excavations at Tamluk have brought to light beautiful terracottas and other antiquities, some of which no doubt bear testimony to the commercial relations between Egypt and the Indian port of Tamalitti (J. Ph. Vogel, Notes on Ptolemy, B. S. O., A.S. XIV, Pt. 1, p. 82).⁴

Cīraka (Cīnaka): Pandit Hemaraja Sharma corrects this as Cīnaka on the ground that our text mentions a Cīrarājya in the South in V, 13 and that a scribal error is likely. Pt. Sharma is inclined to regard Burma as the country denoted by Cīnaka, he lays stress on the diminutive 'ka' applied to Cīna, thus showing smaller China. Since the text here talks of Eastern lands, the identification is not quite improbable.⁵ The Mahāmāyūrī list⁶ refers to the eldest son of Pancika as the Yakṣa of Cīnabhumis. But a more plausible identification would be with Cherus or Cheros who might once have been in the Khasi hills of Assam as the name Cherrapunji suggests and who spread in Uttara Pradesh and Chhotanāgapur, and are in Koreā in old C. P. Palāmāu, Shāhbād, Surgujā, Balliā, Mirzapur, etc. (see Imp. Gaz., XV. 400; XIX. 337-339, XXII. p. 88, XXXIII 172, VI. 251, XVII. 368). Cherra is a petty state in Khasi hills, Assam, Imp. Gaz. Vol. X. p. 194.

Priyaṅgu: Not identified. If the original reading was *pravaṅga* then it can be Aṅgā (Pargiter's Mārkaṇḍa Pu., p. 325.⁷ It would be better to identify it with Priyaṅgupattana of Vasudevahind, from which place Cārudatta goes to Cīnasthāna.⁸ Priyaṅgu was in W. or N. Bengal and is referred to in Irda Plates (Hist. of Bengal, I, 32, 133-34).

Kauśalyam is obviously the Kośala country, probably the South Kosala. The Mahāmāyūrī list mentions it along with Kalinga in I. 45:—Lambodarah Kalīṅgeṣu Kośalyām ca Mahābhujah.

-
1. History of Bengal, p. 9.
 2. R. Shafer. Ethnography of Ancient India (Wiesbaden, 1954); p. 9.
 3. His. of Bengal, p. 9.
 4. Law. B. C., Hist. Geo. of Ancient India, p. 263.
 5. Kāśyapa S. Int., pp. 137-138.
 6. Op. Cit. line 80 and p. 46.
 7. Nandalal Dey, Geographical Dictionary, p. 160.
 8. Sārthavāha, pp. 131-132. Vasudevahindī, I. p. 145.

Kośala is here placed in the vicinity of Kalinga, also compare Levi and Agrawala's notes on Venvātata in line 22 of the same list.¹ In line 38, Kośala is mentioned with Suna which latter as proposed by Dr. Agrawala may be Seunadesa. According to him Kosala in the list, I. 38, may be Southern Kosala or modern Chhattisgarh.²

Kaliṅga is well known and is referred to in MBH. Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Aśoka's Inscriptions, the Mahāmāyūrī list etc. As noted by Levi, it was a well known Janapada on the Eastern coast of India lying roughly between the Mahanadi and the Godavari.³

From V. 12 b, we obtain an account of people of the Southern quarter. The first are *Kañcīpadās*. Identification of Kāñcī with Conjeevaram district is settled.⁴ It is referred to in MBH, Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Adh.⁵ Padmapurāṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, Adh. 74. It is also mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. Pandit Hemaraj Sharma notes that it was the capital of Draviḍa-Cola-deśa. Since the "Coras" are separately mentioned here the extent of Kāñcī referred to here should be smaller than that suggested by him.⁶

Navadhvānā is un-explained. Does the expression go with Kañcīpadā?

Kāvīrās: These people must be placed in the region watered by Kaveri river.⁷

Vānāsī-Kumudā-Rājyam: The second part of this expression is puzzling. Vānāsī may refer to some tribe. A distant possibility would be to equate it with Banavāsī in North Canara, referred to in the Mahāmāyūrī list, line 46 as Vanavāsī, having the Yakṣa Svastika. But if the reading is incorrect, then it may refer to Bāṇa or Bāṇapur, the modern Mahābalipuram and Kumbhaka or Kumbhaga the Kumbhakonam. This of course is a wild conjecture. Nand Lal Dey (Geo. Dict. p. 21) equates Bāṇapura with Mahābalipuram.

Ciripālī: Pandit Sharma has suggested its identification with Tricanapalli which was formerly called Triśiras-palli from the name of the Senapati of Rāvaṇa, It was later known as Urāgapura—Is it the same as Urāgā of the Mahāmāyūrī list, line 14, p 32 where it is mentioned with Tāmraparṇī? Levi identified Tāmraparṇī with Ceylon but for Urāgā immediately following he suggested identification with Uraśā in Hazara district in the North.⁸ In think that Urāgā in the list is ancient Urāgapura of S. India. The Aṭavi in the next line of Mahāmāyūrī possibly refers to the forests to

1. Mahāmāyūrī List. op. cit. p. 34.

2. Mahāmāyūrī List, p. 40 and p. 42. For Kosala see, B. C. Law, His. Geo. of Ancient India, pp. 42, 47. 99. 208.

3. Mahāmāyūrī, JUPHS., op. cit., pp. 34, 42, Law. B. C. Ibid., 156-159.

4. Law, B. C., Ibid., p. 161.

5. Law, B. C., Ibid., p. 182.

6. For Kāñcī, see Moti Chandra, Sārthavāha, pp. 21, 61, 107, 175, 25, 208; Law, B. C. Historical Geography, p. 148, 161.

7. See. Law, B. C., op. cit., pp. 162-163.

8. JUPHS. XV. part 2, p. 32.

West and S. W. of the Vindhyas including possibly Lāṭa etc. Bahudhānyaka mentioned next to Aṭavī may then be identified with modern Bodhān, in the Māṇḍavī Tāluka, south Gujarat, up stream on Taptī river, near Kāmrej. Kāmrej, at least is known as a pretty old site. There is another Bodhan near Nizamabad, not far from the course of Godavari. (Imp. Gaz. viii. 254). Then comes the reference to Ujjayini and Bharukaccha and Ānandapura, which would show a better order in the list. I would also like scholars should identify Agrodaka, Amaraparpaṭa and Suvāstu occurring before Girinagara and after Ānandapur (modern Vaḍnagar in N. Gujarat), with some sites in regions nearby.

Čira-rājya: has been mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya. Pt. Sharma has suggested that Čira is an abridged and Apabhramśa of Kerala (-putra). He places it in the modern Mysore State. Čera comprised present Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore. The Tamil kingdom of Čera is known to Epics and Purāṇas.

Čora: obviously stands for the Colas, referred to as Codas in the inscriptions of Aśoka. The Čoras must be identified with Colakas who inhabited the Coromondal coast.¹

Pulindas: have been discussed at length by Dr. Moticandra.³ The Pulindas are referred to in Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII as a vassal tribe. In the Aitareya Brahmana VII, 18, they are mentioned with Andhras. In the Purāṇas (Matsya, 114, 46-48, Vāyu, 45, 126) they are mentioned with the Śabaras and are referred to as Dakṣiṇāpathavāsinah together with the Vaidarbhas and Dandakas. The Mahābhārata, XII. 207. 42 refers to them as the people of Dakṣiṇāpatha. According to B. C. Law "the Pulindas must have certainly included Rūpanātha, the find-spot of a version of Aśoka's Minor Edicts".³

The text says that the above-mentioned lands are in the Dravida country or that these people are included amongst the Dravidas. Then follows another group which is said to be of countries and or peoples in the Southern Quarter. First are mentioned the Karaghāṭasānās, then the Vivehās in the Maṇḍapa region, the Kāntāra land, the Varāha country and the Ābhīram in the Ghaṭas (Lāṭas?).

Karahāṭa I take the expression of verse 14 a to mean that the Videhas, i.e. the natives or the countries of Karaghāṭa and Śanā are included in the land or region of the Maṇḍapas. Karaghāṭa is naturally identified with Karahāṭa also mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrī list line 44, pp. 41-48, and is the same as modern Karāḍ in the Satara District. "Śanānām" cannot be explained. But I may suggest that "Śanā" may be a scribal error for Sūnā—(Seuṇa country?).⁴

1. Dr. Moticandra, Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahabharata, Upāyanaparva, p. 117.

2. Op. Cit. pp. 77-78.

3. Law, B. C., Hist. Geography, p. 184.

4. See also, JUPHS. op. cit., pp. 40-42, for Karahāṭa and Śanā=Seuṇa-Deśa.

The verse 14b then says that Kāntāra, Varāha and Ābhīra lands are in forests (ghaṭāsu). Apparently these refer to forests to the W. and S. West of the Vindhya. For the Ābhīras are known to have lived in the Khandesa. That even Lata was a forest region in MBH. times is attested by the fact that even upto this date people living in the region watered by the Mahi maintain that their land was Hiḍimba-vana of the MBH. fame. The Jyotirvidābharaṇa ascribed to Kalidāsa says in JV. XXII' 14, that Vikrama was verily a Fire to the forests of Lāṭa (Central Gujarat or more probably the whole of the Western coast of modern Gujarat, excluding Saurāṣṭra. Lāṭāṭavī pāvakaḥ. It is for this reason that I have suggested here emendations in the identifications of the Mahāmāyūrī list beginning with Uragā upto Girinagara. It would be better if a fresh attempt is made to identify in this all other places by keeping in mind the fact that the author after all did maintain some order in the list. In India it so happens that often one and the same name was given to widely different places. In Gujarat we have more than one Bharathāṇā while we have, more than one रथान in the W. India, Thān in Saurāṣṭra and Thāṇā near Bombay. There was a Tambalīpti on the bay of Bengal and Cambay too was at one time given that name (see Dr. Motichandra Geographical and Economic Studies in the Upāyana-Parva, p. 111).

Our list is unfortunately incomplete though with the above names, South India is completed by our author.

Kāntāra: Pt. Hemraj Sharma has shown that Kantara is referred to in the Southern conquests of Sahadeva. He identifies it with Southern Kōṅkana and Aurangābad district. Tagara was its capital.

The Allahabad Praśati refers to Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra amongst rulers of Dakṣiṇāpatha defeated by Samudragupta. B.C. Law writes "According to some Śāmbalpur in the Mahanadi was probably its capital. It is identified with the eastern Gondavana or with the southern Jharkhanda."¹

Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra is generally identified with Vyaghra-deva, a feudatory of the Vakataka ruler Prthvisena I mentioned in the Ganj. Ins. (Ep. Ind. XVIII, p. 12) and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar suggested (Indian Ant., 1926, p. 229) that Mahākāntāra might have included the Saugor division of the C. P. extending northwards to the Ajaighad State in Bundelkhand. G. Ramdas in Jou. Andhra His. Soc. Vol. I, p. 223, suggested that Mahākāntāra must be a mahāvana, a great forest region in the south extending northwards into the Ganjam Agency and westwards into the trench known as the Chattisgarh states of the old C. P.

Nand Lal Dey in his Geographical Dictionary, p. 89 takes Kantarakā-Aranyaka and on p. 10 places it as a kingdom situated on the south of Ujjain and Vidarbha on the evidence of Mahā Sabhā, 31. This according to him is the Aranya of Devipurana, chap. 46 and Ariaka of Periplus.² With Da Cunha he took Aranyaka as comprising a great part of Aurangabad and Southern Kōṅkana.

1. Law. B. C. Hist. Geo. of Ancient India, p. 71. Motichandra, Sārthavāha, 175.

2. Da Cunha (History of Chaul and Bassein p. 127), stated that Ariaka comprised a great part of Aurangabad and Southern Kōṅkana, the capital being Tagara.

Varāha: Pandit Hemaraja Sharma suggested that Varaha may be identified with modern Varada or Berar.

There is a Barwāhā town in the C. India Nimar distr. Indore State, (Imp. Gaz. vii. 89-90), a Barwāni State existed in Central India (ibid., vii. 90-93) while Barwārs are a criminal tribe in Gondā distr. U. P. (ibid., xii. 314). Barrur is a town in Berar, Amraoti distr. (Imp. Gaz. xxiv. 378), there is a Warorā tahsil in Chanda dist. old Central Provinces (Imp. Gaz., xxiv. 377). Wardhā in The Nagpur Division of Madhya Pradesh can also have a claim to Varāha (ibid., xxiv. 375).

Ābhira: The Ābhira land or peoples are the Abiria of the Greeks. In the Mahabharata, Śābhaparvan, Chap. 51 they are located in Western India. The evidence of the Mahabharata is supported by the author of Periplus and by Ptolemy. The MBH. IX. 37. 1 definitely locates the Abhiras in W. Rajaputana and where the Sarasvati disappears. The Abhira people are usually associated with Aparanta which indicated in a wider sense the western division of India and in a narrow sense only the northern part of the Konkan. The Periplus¹ and the Geography of Ptolemy located Aberia or Abiria, i.e. the Abhira country between the lower Sindhu valley and Kathiawad, apparently in south-western Rajaputana and adjoining regions.

The Abhira country is mentioned in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta as one of the tribal states of Western and Southwestern India. Raja Mathariputra Īśvarasena of Ābhira Śivadatta is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription of his ninth regnal year. Īśvarasena's dominions thus comprised the Nasik region in Northern Mahārāṣṭra. The Ābhīras continued to rule as late as the middle of the fourth century when according to Chandravalli Inscription (if it is not false) they came in conflict with a Kadamba King.²

The Vāyu Purāṇa (ch. 46. 126) and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (chaps. 57-58, vs. 45-48 and v. 22 place them with those dwelling in the Southern country. They are called Dakṣiṇāpathavāsinaḥ.³

In another place the Kaśyapa Samhita, in the Bhojana-kalpa-adhyāya, pp. 168f. of the Kalpa-sthāna; we find another reference to some countries and peoples. Here also the topic is similarly the Deśa-sātmnya, i.e., the suitable diet of different lands and peoples. I quote only the passage giving names and peoples—

कौरुक्षेत्राः कुरवो नैमिषेया पाञ्चालमाखीचरकौसलेयाः १
हारीतपादा श्चरशौरसेनाः मत्स्या दशार्णाः शिशिराद्रिजाश्च ॥४१॥
सारस्वताः सिन्धुसौवीरकाख्या ये चान्तरे स्युर्मनुजा कुरूणाम् १
उदम्बिपाट्सिन्धुवसाजिताश्च काश्मीरचीनापरचीनखर्याः ॥४२॥
बाह्लीकदाशेरकशातसाराः सरामणा ये च परेण तेषाम् १
एषामवक्ष्यंशनादिरुक्ता सात्म्योचितत्वाद्भिषजा विधेया ॥४३॥⁴

1. Mac Crindle, pariplus, p. 113.

2. Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 221-223.

3. Law, B. C., Hist. Geo. of Ancient India., pp. 275-276.

4. अवक्ष्यंशनादि may be corrupt, अव should be emended to यव which will be clear from vv. 44-48. It is the यवक्षार which would lead to the effects mentioned in vv. 44-48.

काशीन्सपुण्ड्राङ्गकवङ्गकाचान्ससा (ग) रानूपकतौ (कौ) सलेयान् ।
 पूर्व समुद्रं च समाश्रिता ये किरातदेश्यानपि पूर्वशैलान् ॥४६॥
 शाकैः समत्स्यामिषशालितैर्लैर्द्रव्यैश्च तीक्ष्णैः समुपक्रमेत ।
 कफो हि तेषां निश्चितः स्वभावाद्विलीयमानः कृशतां करोति ॥५०॥
 कलिङ्गकान्पट्टनवासिनश्च सदक्षिणान्वाऽपि च नार्मदेयान् ।
 उच्चावचद्रव्यगुणान्विताभिः पेयामिरेतान्समुपक्रमेत ॥५१॥

The author begins with the people of *Kurukṣetra* and the *Kurus*. The ancient Kuru country comprised *Kurukṣetra* or *Thāṇeśvara*. The region included Sonapāt, Āmin, Karnāl and Pāṇipat and was situated between Sarasvatī on the north and the Dṛśadvatī on the south. The territory of the Kurus appears to have comprised the Kurukṣetra, Kuru's country and the Kurujāngala (MBH. Ādiparvan cix, 4337-40). Kurujāngala was the eastern part of their territory, and appears to have comprised the tract between the Ganges and the northern Pāncāla (Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā, lxxii, MBH. Sabha., xix. 793-4). The middle region between the Ganges and the Jumna was simply called Kuru's country.¹ As Rapson puts it, "Kurus must have occupied the region between the Ganges and the Jumna, having as their neighbours on the east, north-Pāñcālās, and on the south, south-Pāñcālās, who held the rest of the Doab as far as Vatsabhūmi, the corner where the two rivers meet at Prayāg." (Ancient India, p. 165).

Pañcāla-deśa comprised Bareilly, Badaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the Central Doab in U. P. It extended, according to Cunningham, from the Himalaya mountains to the Chambal river.² Pāñcāla divided into southern and northern Pancalas had Kampilya and Ahicchatra as their respective capitals.³

Naimiṣāranya known to the Brāhmaṇas, Epics and Purāṇas was situated on the bank of the Gumtī in the Sitāpur district.⁴ According to Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara. Ch. 91, it is situated on the left bank of the Gomati.

The *Māñicarā* cannot be identified. Possibly the text is corrupt. The Māñiharas are however very numerous in Uttarapradesh and adjoining regions. The Māñis, Māñicaras or Māñiharas seem to have spread in U. P., Bihar, Bengal etc. Moniar town in Balliā district, U. P. (Imp. Gaz., xvii. 181-82), or the Mañiyar Maṭh of Rājgir, and the Mañi-naga were possibly associated with Mañis or Māñis. Mānbhum in Bihār and Mañiktalā in 24 parganas in Bengal might be associated with them. Were the Māñis also at Mañipur in Assam?

For Hariyānā, a town in the Hoshiarpur distr., Punjab, see. Imp. Gaz., xiii. 54. For Hariyānā dialect, see, *ibid.*, xiii. 148, xiv, 170. There are a Haraiyā tehsil of the Basti dist. U. P. (*Ibid.*, xiii. 40), comprising the paragaṇas of Amrohā, Nagar (West) and Basti (W.) and lying along the Ghogrā river. There was again Hāraotī and Tank Agency. Hāraotī

1. Also see, Law, B. C. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 101-102.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

3. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography.*, p. 360.

4. Law, B. C., *Hist., Geo.*, pp. 113, 41. The Pañcavimśa Brā. XXV. 6, 4, and the Jaiminiya Brā., I. 363 mention Naimiṣiya which denotes dwellers in the Naimiṣa forest.

means the country of Hār Rājputs (as sect of the Chauhāṇas) which comprises the territories of Bundi and Koṭāh (Ibid., xiii. 40). Then, again, Hardoi is a western district of Lucknow division, U. P., with the district town of Hardoi standing on an ancient mound (ibid., xiii. 50-51). The Kauśāleyas are people of Kośala country, of both the north and the southern Kośalas. *Haritapādas*, mentioned next, cannot be identified. They must be somewhere near the Kauśāleyas and the Śaurasenans mentioned in one context. The Hariyānā distr. of E. Punjab possibly derives its name from Hārītās. The reading *Hārītapādās' cara-Śaurasenah* seems to be corrupt. One does not know why *Śaurasenāḥ* can be qualified by the epithet *cara*. The text must be corrupt.

In the Āpastamba Śrauta sūtra, xxii, 6. 18, the "magadha are mentioned along with other peoples of both the E. and W. India, namely, the Kaliṅgas, Gandhāras, *Pāraskaras*, and the Sauvīras.¹ Can we emend *Pādās'cara* to *Pāraskara*? *Pāraskara-deśa* is known to the Gaṇapāṭha, cf. *Pāraskarabhr̥tīni ca samjñāyām* (Pāṇini, 6. 1. 157). Patañjali commenting on the above says: *Pāraskaro deśaḥ*. *Pāraskara* is also the name of a mountain according to Pāṇini, 4. 5. 10. V. S. Agrawala places *Pāraskara deśa* to the east of Sindh, near Thar-Parkar district.² In that case the emendation is less likely.

A better emendation for *Pādāścara* would be *Paṭaccara*, the *Paṭaccara pradeśa* being known to Gaṇapāṭha, *pālyādigaṇa*, cf., Pāṇini, 4. 2. 10. V. S. Agrawala identifies this land with the area around Patauḍi.³ It is just likely that either *Paṭaccaras* or *Pāraskaras* were near Kauśāleyas and Pañcālas and Śaurasenans mentioned in the same context by the Kāś'. Sam., especially the *Paṭaccaras* as Patañjali commenting on *Prasthottara-baadyādikopadhāṇa* (Pāṇini, 4. 2. 110), mentions them in the following group—*Śaurasenans, Gomatī, Paṭaccara, Udāpāna* and *Yakṛlloma*. Gomatī is the valley of the Gomatī river and Yakṛlloma according to Agrawala's suggestion would be in the Jalaun, Urai, Kaushna and Kālapi area of the U. P.⁴ *Paṭaccaras* are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Sabhā. 32. 4.⁵

Śūrasena is one of the ancient Janapadas known to Buddhist texts like the Anguttara Nikāya and the Pāli Sutta Piṭaka. *Śūrasenas* had Mathura as their capital.⁶ Ancient Greek writers refer to it as Sourasenoi.

The country of the *Matsyas* comprised the modern district of Jaipur. It included the whole of the present territory of Alwar, with a portion of Bharatpur. B.C. Law writes 'According to the R̥V. vii. 18. 6, the country of the *Matsyas* lay to the south of *Sūra* or south west of Indraprastha and to the south of *Śūrasena*. Virāṭanagara or Vairāṭa was its capital, so-called because it was the capital of Virāṭ, king of the *Matsyas*.⁷ In R̥V. vii. 18. 6-7, the *Matsyas* are mentioned along with other tribes,

1. See, Law, B. C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 195-96.

2. *India As Known To Pāṇini*, pp. 51.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 62.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

5. Cf.— तथैवापरमत्स्याश्च व्यजयत्स पटच्चरान् ।
निषादभूमिं गोमृङ्गं पर्वतप्रवरं तथा ॥
Mahābhārata, Sabha. 32. 4. (Kumbhakonam ed.).

6. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 42, 51.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

namely, Druhyus and Bhṛguṣ. A Matsya king is mentioned in the Śata, Brāh. xii. 5. 4. 9. (SBE. vol. xlv. p. 398), in the Kauśītaki Upa. iv. 1 (SBE. vol. I. p. 300), the Matsyas are mentioned along with other tribes, namely, the Uśīnaras, Kuru-Pañcālas and the Kāśī-Videhas. In the Gopatha Brāh. 1. 2. 9 (R. L. Mitra's ed.), they are connected with the Śālvas and their relation is also attested to by the MBH. Virāṭa., ch. 30. According to Manu. II. 19-29 (SBE. xxv. pp. 32-3), the plains of the Kurus, the country of the Matsyas, Pañcālas and Śūrasenakas formed the country of the Brahmarṣis, which ranks immediately after the Brahmāvarta.¹

The *Daśārṇas* are mentioned next. Of the Daśārṇa country, Vidiśā, modern Besnagar, close to Bhilsa, was the ancient capital, situated on the river Vetravatī or Betwa.² Elephants of Daśārṇa country are referred to in the Arthaśāstra, II. 2.³ Daśārṇa country is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, II. 5. 10 and Ramayana, Kishkindha, 41. 8. 10. The Puranas associate the people of the Daśārṇa country with the Malavas, Karusas, Mekalas, Utkalas and Nisadhas. A Daśārṇa king Ksatradeva fought for the Pandavas.⁴ For Buddhist references for Mahavastu, etc., see, Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 31

The *Śīśiradrījās* mentioned next (Kas'. Sam.) in v. 41, may be natives of the Himalayan regions. Now, the author refers to northern and north-western regions. The Śīśiradrījās are probably the Haimavatas of Mahābhārata, II. 47. 19, discussed by Moti Chandra and others. Himavanta-padesa of Mahāvamsa' ch. xii has been identified with Tibet by some, with Nepal by Fergusson, with Central Himalayas by Rhys Davids. Emodos, Hemodos or Iamus of Greek writers may be Haimavanta. Moti Chandra writes, 'the name was applied at first by the Greeks or the Hindukuśa and the Himalayas, but in course of time was transferred to the Bolar Range.'⁵

The *Sārasvatas* may be natives of the regions watered by Sarasvatī before Vinaśana. Sārasvata, according to Nanda Lal Dey is the (1) Puṣkara Lake near Ajmere on the evidence of Varaha Purana or (2) Sārasvata-pura on the north-west of Hastināpur, on the evidence of Hemakośa.⁶

The *Sindhu-Sauvīras* are included in the list of Janapadas in Mārkaṇḍeya Pu., ch. 57. The Pāli texts refer to them as great centres of trade and commerce. In the Mahāgovinda Suttanta, Sovīra has been described as a kingdom with Roruka as its capital. According to Law, it was probably situated between the Indus and the Jhelum.⁷ The Sauvīras are referred to in the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, I.2. 14. where expiation is prescribed after a visit to this country.⁸ In the MBH., Bhīṣmaparva (51. 14), the Sindhus and the Sauvīras are mentioned together and are associated with the Śivis. *Vasātis* and the Gandhāras. According to the Agnipurāṇa, ch. 200, the river Devikā, but according to Bhāgavata Pu.,

1. Law, B. C., *Tribes in Ancient India* (poona 1943), pp. 357-359.

2. *Hist. Geo. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 314, 336.

3. *Tribes in Ancient India.*, pp. 159, 386.

4. *Mahābhārata*, Karna., chs. 22, 23; *Draṇa.*, chs. 25, 35.

5. *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 397.

6. *Day Geographical Dictionary* (2nd ed. 1927), p. 180.

7. Law, B. C., *India as described in Early Texts*, pp. 67. 70.

8. Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies*, p. 47.

the river Ikṣumatī flowed through Sauvīra.¹ The Mahābhāṣya refers to a city Dattamitri in Sauvīra.²

According to V. S. Agrawala,³ "Sindhu as a janapada may be identified with Sindh-Sāgar Doab, the region between the Jhelum and the Indus. Most of it is now the sandy desert of that. Pāṇini mentions Sauvīra and gives valuable social history of the region. It was the home of many *gotras* "To the south of Kekaya was situated the Sindhu Janapada lying north to south between the rivers Jhelum and Indus. Along the lowermost course of Indus was situated the ancient Sauvīra janapada now known as Sindh."

The people living between the Kurus (*ye cāntare syuḥ manuḥ Kurūṇām*), are, of course, people living between the Uttara Kurus and the Kurus of India or the (Dakṣiṇa) Kurus. The Uttarakurus are historical people in Vedic literature, and in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 141, they are located beyond the Himalayas. Zimmer placed them in Northern Kāśmīr and Keith and Macdonell agreed. The exact location of Uttara-Kurus is, however, difficult, as shown by Moti Chandra.⁴

The *Udag-Vipāt* are people to the north of the river Vipās and the expression may also go with *Sindhu-Vasātijā* who are people living in the Sindhu Valley and between the Indus and the Jhelum. Vasātis are linked with Mauleyas who, according to Moti Chandra, perhaps lived in the Māla valley in Jhalavan. The Vasātis have been identified with Ossadiovi of Arrian (*Anab.*, VI, 15) who offered their submission to Alexander at the confluence of Chenab and Jhelum. M. Saint Martin places them between the Jhelum and the Indus on the strength of Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Vasātis are mentioned in MBH Sabhā, 48. 14.⁵

Kāśmīra and Cīna are well-known. Kāśmīras are mentioned along with Daradas in MBH. *Droṇaparva*, LXX. 2435 Kāśmīra, the Kasperia of Ptolemy, was known to Pāṇini (4. 2. 133) and to Patañjali (3. 2. 2), and to Buddhist texts like the *Divyāvadāna*, *Avadānaśataka* etc.⁶ The Cīnas are known to MBH Sabhā, Chas. 47 and 48 where they may be people of Southern China. The Aparacīnas may be people of Western China.⁷

The *Khaśyas* may be the Khaśas referred to in MBH, Sabhā, 48. 3, who, according to Moti Chandra, are identical with the present Khakha tribe of the Vitastā valley below Kashmir and in the neighbouring hills.

1. *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 344 ff.

2. Referred to D. R. Bandarkar in his *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population*, *Indian Antiquary*, (1911).

3. *India As Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 44, 50.

4. *Vedic Index*, I. p. 84; Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies*, pp. 83 ff. Law, B. C., *Geographical Essays*, p. 29., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 133, for references from Buddhist texts. The Uttarakurus are known to jaina canons but the descriptions are of a land of happiness. more or less mythical, with wishing-trees, etc. and not suggesting historical people known as Uttarakurus.

5. Moti Chandra, *Ibid*, pp. 105 ff.

6. Law, B. C. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 87.

7. Moti Chandra, *Ibid*, pp. 60-61.

Nepal the Gurkhas are designated as Khas. They may be located in Kashgar.

M. Sylvain Levi (BEFEO, Vol. IV, p. 556) stated that Khasa or Khasa does not indicate any particular tribe, but a member of semi-Hinduised tribes inhabiting the Himalayas. But in the Central Asia the name has a special significance. The Lalitavistara mentions Khasa writing which was in use between the countries of Dardistan and China on the upper course of the Indus, and equated with Chou-le, i. e. Kashgar.¹

The Vāhikas are people of the Balkh-Bastria.² The original reading could have been Vāhikas as the next tribes, mentioned are Daserakas, Satarasas, Ramanas etc. If Vāhikas were the correct reading, Daserakas should be emended. Because Daserakas being far away from Bastria, they would not be mentioned in one context. In that case Dardeyaka is a possible emendation. They would be Daradas conquered by Arjuna along with Kambojas (MBH II. 48. 12). Daradas are people of Dardistan, the Derdai of Greek writers³ Śātasāras should be near Balkh and Dardistan mentioned above on the one hand and Rāmaṇas following Daserakas (in the same verse), on the other hand. It is difficult to identify Śātasāras or to emend the text.

Ramanas may be Romakas of MBH. II. 47. 15. Moti Chandra identifies with people of The Salt Range in Punjab, the Salt Range itself being named Orimenu by Pleny (His. Nat. XXI. 39). As stated by Moti Chandra, "It is also interesting to note that the Shins of Baltistan also call themselves Roms."⁴ If the Ramanas were to be emended as Ramathas, also mentioned in MBH. II. 29 11. and coupled with Harhuras, then the Ramatha country has to be located somewhere near the regions of South Persia, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Bokhara etc. as shown by Moti Chandra, on account of the fact that Ramatha or as a foetida is produced in these regions. Levi places it between Ghazani and Wakhan. Moti Chandra identifies Ramanath country with Kharan district of the Kalat State, continuous with ancient Aria (Herat) and Archosia (Kandhar).⁵

People of Eastern land are mentioned in v. 49. Kāśī, Puṇḍra, Aṅga, Vaṅga are well known. Kācas may be people speaking the Kusha dialect, but their location in the East or north-east of Vaṅga is uncertain. The Kācas in this context must be identified with Kasins or Kācins tribe of Tibeto-Burman origin inhabiting Upper Burma and the Shan states (Imp. Gaz., iii. 125, ix, 139, xiv. 253-255). For Kachin group of dialects of the Assamese Burmese branch, see, *Ibid*, i. 387 394, 401. The Kācas must therefore be located in Assam and Burma. Also see *Kīrāta-jana-kṛti*, by Suniti Kumār Chatterji. Anupa next may be marshy region of the Ganges. I prefer the reading *Tosaleyas* to *Kosaleyas*. *Tosaleyas* will be people of

1. Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies*, pp. 75-76.

2. For Vāhikas, see, *ibid.*, pp. 90 ff. If the reading Vāhika is accepted, the Vāhikas would be in the land of live rivers, see, *Ibid*, pp. 5-6. Location of Dāserakas is not certain, but see, Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 151 and 398.

3. *Ibid* pp. 81-86.

4. *Geographical and Economical Studies*, p. 59.

5. *Ibid*. pp. 65-66.

Tosali, mentioned in Aśoka's Kalinga Rock Edict I. in the Tosalei of Ptolemy, identified with Dhauli in the Puri district of Orissa.¹

Paṭṭanavāsinaḥ may be residents of Masulipatṭanam² or Viśākha-paṭṭanam on the east coast, probably the former.

Narmadeyas along with Dakṣiṇas are people of the Narmadā valley and the Dakṣiṇavāsinaḥ of the Purāṇas or the people immediately to the South of the Narmadā.³ In MBH Vanaparva III. 89. 8354 Narmadā is spoken of as a sacred river on which Avanti is situated. Narmadā is Narmados of Ptolemy. The Narmadā is invoked in R̥V. Khilasūkta, 2, at the end of R̥V. maṇḍala I.⁴

The above rather lengthy analysis of the two sections of the Kāśī. Samhītā referring to Deśa-Sātmya was necessary to show that while the countries and peoples noted on p. 171 in the Bhijanakalpādhyāya are all known to literature earlier than c. 2nd century B.C., some of the references in the Khilasthāna are later and show a somewhat later geography. Probably the references in the Bhojanakalpādhyāya date from c. 2nd century B. C., if not earlier. The Khilasthāna is not later than C. 400 A.D. The Bhojanakalpādhyāya may belong to the age of Jivaka himself. i.e. c. 5th century B.C. or somewhat later, but certainly it belongs to an age earlier than the beginning of the Christian era while the Khilasthāna, chapter was added by Vātsya, a devotee of Anāyāsa Yakṣa, in c. 300 A.D. Worship of Anāyāsa Yakṣa went out of use at Kauśāmbī in Vatsa country in the Gupta period when even Kauśāmbī lost in earlier importance. Vātsya himself states that he has added the Khila section.⁵

-
1. Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 195.
 2. See Moti Chandra, Sārthavāha, p. 25.
 3. Historical Geography of Ancient India, pp. 36, 305, 323.
 4. Sātavlekara's ed., p. 769:—

नर्मदायै नमः प्रोतर्नर्मदायै नमो निशि १ नमोस्तु नर्मदे तुभ्यं त्राहि मां विषसर्पतः ॥७॥

The Khilas are hymns accepted in Bāṣkala and Śāṅkhyāyana śākhās of the R̥V., though not included in the śākala śākhā. However, they are very old and must be assigned least to the later Sarpitā period.

5. Cf: Kāś. Sam., p, 191, vv, 25-29,

KHAJURAHO TEMPLES

By

Hari Ram Mishra, M.A., D.Litt.

INTRODUCTION

India from the view point of its heritage has a high place of pride. Its religion has been eternal which has been embracing, as it does, in its fundamentals all the basic principles of all other religions—a fact which satisfactorily accounts for the naturalization of different peoples who came here from time to time. Its civilization, strictly historically speaking in the modern sense, dates back to the Indus Civilization; later excavations, when correctly scrutinized and established as to times, may locate it earlier. Its culture has few parallels; its message of love and non-violence spread far and wide. The Vedas are the mystic visions of the Indians of the times when humanity in other parts of the world was mostly in cradle. The literatures and sciences that followed have their own glorious tales to tell. The Indian philosophical contribution stands out even today as original in the world thought. Its arts have been prominent. Their broad division into useful and fine arts, and further, of fine arts into Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music and Poetry was a thing long ago known here. The ancient styles of construction of caves, temples, forts and fortresses; of chiselling images, icons and statues, of paintings and of music extant today bear eloquent testimony to this knowledge. The archaeological finds as coins, inscriptions and monuments are most precious treasures helping in fixing their periods. A study of these things waives off the much prevailing belief that Indians in ancient times lacked historical sense, though the real position was that they subordinated Materialism to Spiritualism, in other words relevant here, History to Philosophy. In the masters the flame of the '*genius loci*' leaped into the realm of creative inspiration; the temporal was drowned into the spiritual.

The ancient period produced different styles of Architecture and Sculpture, matchless in design and execution. The temple architecture in its styles flourished in the North and the South, known respectively as the Indo-Aryan style and the Dravidian style. The development of the Indo-Aryan style was practised in one form or the other over at least three quarters of the northern portion and hence its examples were very widely distributed. These developments were regional. Each regional manifestation has its own particular qualities but there is a certain current of thought flowing in all these developments which resulted in a standardization of forms, principles and procedure. These developments were rather regional movements except in the case of the Khajuraho temples which form a group, confined as they are to one locality and to a period of 100 years from 950 to 1050 A.D. They are a brilliant episode in the history of Indian temple architecture and represent one of the rare occasions when religious emotion and unstinted patronage coincided with the flowering of artistic genius to find expression in buildings of the highest aesthetic standard and the utmost significances.

TEMPLES—THEIR SITE

The Khajurāho temples are situated in Khajurāho, 27 miles from Chhatarpur which is connected by the Central Railway at Harpalpur, 33 miles distant and 34 miles from Mahoba, both on Jhansi-Manikpur line. Khajurāho was the ancient capital of the Chandellas, a mediaeval central Indian dynasty of the Rajputs claiming descent from the Moon. The old name of Khajurāho was Shri Kharjūra-vāhaka as given in the inscription, and Khajūrapura or Khajjinpura as mentioned in the *Prthvīrāja Raso* by the bard Chandra Bardai. According to the tradition, the city was so called because of two golden Khajūra trees (date palms) which ornamented one of its gates or which grew in abundance in the neighbourhood. Among the Chandella princes Harṣa and his son Yaśovarman (First half of the 10th century) are important as it is from their reigns that the growth of a strong Chandella power began. Yaśovarman's son Dhaṅga and the latter's grandson Vidyādhara were other important rulers. It was during the reigns of the above that the splendour of Khajurāho reached its zenith. Later on the Chandellas concentrated on the forts of Mahoba, Ajaigarha and Kālīñjara to resist against the Muslim invaders.

THEIR PATRONS

The Chandellas were staunch adherents of the Hinduism. They were worshippers of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Lakṣmī. They worshipped other deities as Surya and Hanuman. They erected the statues of Varāha, Nandī and carved those of Nṛsimha and her female counterpart and Harihara which was an effort to allay the bitterness between the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas. There are a number of representations of other composite and fused deities. The tutelary deity of the Chandellas was Māyā Devī, the Śakti or the female energy of God Śiva. They established her worship throughout their kingdom; one of her shrines exists at Mahoba. One of the Chandellas, Madanavarman was a Jain in faith. They were, however, not opposed to other sects, and showed tolerance towards the Buddhism. There are thus to be seen represented the Hinduism in its different cults—The Viṣṇu cult, the Śiva cult, the Śakti cult, the Varāha cult, the Nṛsimha cult, the Sūrya cult and the Māruti cult, the Jainism and the Buddhism.

THEIR NUMBER

Traditions say that there were eighty-five temples of which twenty-five are existing divisible, for convenience, into three groups, viz., the Western and the Southern.

The Western group consists of (1) the Chausaṭha Joginī temple, (2) the Lalgūan Mahādeva temple, (3) the Kandariya temple (the temple richest in details), (4) the Mahādeva temple (5) the Devī Jagadambī temple (6) the Chitragupta's or Bharata Jī's temple, (7) the Viśvanātha temple, (8) the Nandī temple (9) the Pārvatī temple, (10) the Lakṣmaṇa temple (the temple representing the Pañchāyatana type), (11) the Mātāṅgeśvara temple (the temple containing the tallest and biggest Śiva liṅga), (12) the Varāha temple... Besides there are (13) the Chopārā or the Square tank and (14) the Jardine Museum.

The Eastern group has (1) the Brahmā temple, (2) the Vāmana temple, (3) the Javarī temple, (4) the Ghanṭai temple, (5) the Ādinātha

temple, (6) the Parśvanātha temple, and (7) the Śantinātha temple (the temple containing a standing colossal image 14 ft. of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara). There is also a mere remnant of a Vaiṣṇava temple known as (8) the Kakra Maṭha, one of the several mounds marking the sites of ancient temples. There is also (9) the Statue of Hanumān (which has inscribed underneath it the oldest inscription).

The Southern group comprises (1) the Duladeo temple and (2) the Jatakari or Chaturbhujā temple (the temple containing the biggest and best image of Viṣṇu with four arms, 9ft in height).

The total number of inscriptions found is nineteen.

MATERIALS USED IN THEM

The Chausaṭha Joginī temple is built entirely of granite and a few other smaller temples are built partly of granite and partly of sandstone. The rest are built of a fine light-coloured sandstone from the quarries of Panna, a town situated to the east of, and 43 miles distant from, Chhatarpur. The facing stones are embedded in most cases in lac, lime concrete being generally used in the core. Iron clamps have been freely utilized. These temples stand on lofty terraces and are not surrounded by walls as enclosures.

THEIR CONSTRUCTION AND STRUCTURE.

The Khajurāho temples are similar, one to another, in external appearance. The majority of them consist of a Cella (garbhagrha) preceded by a vestibule (antarāla), the assembly—hall (maṇḍapa) and the entrance-portico (ardhamāṇḍapa). The more developed examples have the transepts (mahāmaṇḍapa) and the circumambulatory passage (pradakṣiṇāpatha). All these parts are incorporated into a compact architectural synthesis.

On the ground the temple took the general shape of a Latin cross with its long axis from the east to the west, the sole entrance approached by a tall flight of steps, being on the east at the foot of the cross. On the lofty terrace on which the temple stands, the building resolves itself into three main parts: (1) an emphatically high basement storey with a rich and diverse series of mouldings, (2) above which are the walls and balconied window openings of the interior compartment with two or three parallel kinds of sculpture and (3) over all a grouping of roofs culminating in the tall and graceful top (Śikhara) crowned by the cogged ring-stone (āmalaka) surmounted by the finial (stūpikā) with the vase (Kalaśa) as its most conspicuous part. The soaring impulse is accentuated by a number of pronounced vertical projections, which lead the eye upwards as also produce a variety of vertically inclined and well-disposed passages of light and shade. The architecture of the above three main elements shows consummate skill. Each of the main compartments of the temple had a separate roof, the smallest and lowest being that of the portico, and these separate pyramidal roofs rise in a gradation. The graceful shape of the Śikhara has been effected by the subtle lineaments and rhythmic distribution of the main curves and the design and the distribution of the miniature turrets, superimposed on the sides to break up the mass. The system of constructing miniature turret and duplicating or triplicating them about the lower part of the structure, resulted in more melodic out-lines to the

volume, the fluency thus achieved adding fresh beauty to its strength. The interior of the building was designed in strict conformity with the requirements of the ritual. The entrance is only one on the east approachable by a singularly tall flight of steps. The lintel of the doorway is festooned with a cusped archway (*toraṇa*) through which entry is effected into the passage or porch leading to the portico (*ardhamāṇḍapa*), the whole with open sides, the ceiling carried on pillars and slopping seat backs as dwarf-walls. The portico leads to the main hall (*māṇḍapa*), a moderately large square compartment with four pillars in the centre supporting the beams of the roof with transepts (*mahāmāṇḍapa*) on either side connecting with the balcony windows of the exterior. In a temple with the inner circumambulatory passage there is another pair of transepts with window openings on sides and in the rear for light round the cella. The vestibule (*antarāla*). a small passage with a large moon-stone step (*Chandraśīlā*) leads upto the ornate doorway of the cella, an opening repeating in its festooned lintel the design of the main doorway.

A few Khajurāho temples are of the *Pañchāyatana* type, that is to say, there are four subsidiary shrines, consecrated to the subordinate divinities, built at the four corners of the terrace on which the main temple stands. Sometimes, another shrine also is constructed in front of the portico to hold an image of the vehicle or *vāhana* of the principal deity.

The Khajurāho temples are richly decorated with sculpture. The *māṇḍapa* exhibits several notable features, functional and ornamental. The portions specially selected for ornamentation were the capitals of the pillars, the architrave, and the ceiling itself. The capitals, though of the bracket order, are so overlaid with ornament and figure-subjects that the sense of this order is obscured. Above and below are the contorted forms of grotesque dwarfs with rampant gryphons at the angles. In the interspaces are inserted female figures of celestial beauties or women sporting with trees, enchanting, graceful and lovely, in dancing poses or flexuous attitudes—each carved out of a separate slab of stone and a finished statuette in itself. The architraves above the capitals are highly decorated with figure compositions. The ceilings supported by them have been designed and executed with the greatest ingenuity and artistic skill according to the practice of including such richly carved ceilings in the temple interior. The *māṇḍapa*, had the finest work produced, the porches and the outlying chambers were often equally elaborated. The design was usually a geometrical one; intersecting circles were arranged, which on plan form a combination of cusps or quatrefoils, but in section are a series of semi-spherical recesses, or shell-shapes, with a long richly carved pendant dropping from the centre of each. These designs were varied, different and many. Almost every member of the Hindu pantheon is represented and the wealth of imagery is conceivable. The bands of sculpture around the exterior of the temples, inside and around the cellas and following the alternate projections and recesses of the walls contain figures, different in forms and sizes. These include gods as Viṣṇu and Śiva in various forms, and goddesses as Śakti, the presiding deities of the eight quarters (*Aṣṭadīpālās*), nymphs and fairies (*apsarasas*), celestial beauties (*surasundarīs*), couples (*mithunas*), flying celestials (*vidyādhara*s), serpents (*nāgas*), leogriffs (*śardūlas*), human figures in erotic poses, etc. The delicate states of intellectual and sensual rapture were expressed in longstemmed, globular and serpentine shapes. There are lintels showing events from the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa, the churning of the ocean, some of the incarnations and the cow Surabhi.

THEIR PHILOSOPHICAL, RELIGIOUS, CULTURAL AND SECULAR ASPECTS.

The architectural structure and sculpture of the Khajurāho temples are representative of the Indian view of life. In India the ultimate aim of life is Release and art is one means to this end. Indian temple architecture in its full development establishes in Spatial terms an intellectual and actual approach to the Supreme Principle of which the deity is symbolic. The statue is the manifestation of the deity, and the building its body and house. The temples and statues are stages in the approach to Release. The high roofs of the different component parts of the temple rise and fall and then rise even higher as they near the tower of the cella. Their skyline like ridge of a mountain chain traces the arduous journey of the mind's pilgrimage towards the highest point. The consistent fabric of Indian life never thought of the Western dichotomy of religious belief and worldly practice. hence it is that every aspect of life is incorporated into a known hierarchy of values in the physical, psychological and metaphysical realms. The royal patrons and the builders thus assured for themselves a footing in heaven whilst they were still on earth. The form of Indian art though instinct with the movement of life has its limits prescribed by concepts. The conceptual units of Indian architecture are (1) altar, (2) pillar, (3) mountain, (4) cave, (5) enclosure and (6) gate. Materials used have each its own particular meaning. For instance, brick being the substance of the sacrificial alter, signifies sacrifices itself; wood signifies the substance of the World Tree, and stone that of the mountain—these meanings were retained even at later stages of development. The Vedic altar of piled bricks is the earliest known sacred monument of Indian architecture. In the centuries when art openly displayed its innate themes, the images were made visible in architectural monuments of which the temple that embodies the cosmic myth of 'Existence' was the most important. The temple is an architectural replica of the imagined world mountain Meru which as a pillar separates heaven and earth, or anagogically, an equivalent of the body of Puruṣa, the Universal Man whose body comprehends this universe. Accordingly, the final āmalaka, in shape like a lotus flower or a solar halo with rays typifies the passage to heaven, the sun-door at the summit of the world mountain, or the dome of the skull of the Universal Man. The stressed verticality of every architectural member leads the worshipper upward to that centre of magic union with the divine, and the sculpture decoration points the way to that desired union. From the 7th to the 13th centuries when the temple building was at its height, there are few representative edifices without sculpture. Impelled by an inner driving force the figures seem to throb beneath the sculptor's touch. In Indian art the figures are, as it were, modelled by breath, which dilates the chest and is felt to carry the pulse of life through the body to the tips of the fingers. This inner awareness was given permanent shape in art, for it was daily and repeatedly practised and tested in the discipline of Yoga. Hence the sculpture here appears to be conventionalized but it is not without vigour. The Khajurāho temples represent this Indian view of life in its various aspects. The particular faith to which a Khajurāho temple is consecrated is determined with reference to the cult image installed therein or to the subsidiary figure over its entrance which according to the common usage depicts one or the other deity of the sect to which it belongs. The temples of Śiva predominate. The Śiva liṅgam is the symbol of Cosmic force. Images of different gods represented other forces in the universe. The Divinities of the Hindu pantheon sculptured on the walls of the temples whether they

are of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, or Śiva and their spouses, the Śakti of each god, symbolize the action of the powers of Nature in man. The flying celestials as the vidyādhara, the Yakṣas etc, are the guardians of the vegetative source of life. The serpents (nāgas) are important in the Hindu and the Buddhist mythologies as guardians of the underworld and protectors of great treasure which they sometimes bestow on human favourites; they also symbolize wisdom. The eagle-winged parrot-beaked lion shape of the griffin is one of the figures representing the 'Unseen'. The figure of leogriff playing with a human figure is often to be met with; it may represent the smooth relationship between a human being and a beast. Horses represent the senses; elephant symbolizes the earth, the material body; the lotus is identified with man himself; its roots plunging in the mud represent matter, its stem passing through the water symbolizes man's emotions and passions and the flower opening to the sun is man's soul opening to the realities of the spiritual life. The friezes containing human figures in erotic poses are to be seen on the walls of the temples; they too are symbolic. Confronting an Indian work of art, a beholder ignorant of the traditions sees merely its form; its quality awakens in him only a vague response to the total awareness that has gone into its making. He is attracted more towards its component parts depicting wordly aspects. This accounts for greater attraction and more attention towards the above erotic poses. (1) Their depiction is said to be due to the influence of the Tāntric form of the Buddhism. (2) One view is that the mithunas or men and women in erotic embraces typify in their ecstasy the ultimate union of the soul with the divine, the reconstitution of the primordial wholeness that was destroyed when Puruṣa divided himself into a polarity separating human and divine. (3) Another view is that these are to tempt the ascetics represented as seated near them and thereby strengthen them in their meditation over the Supreme Being. (4) The Hindu Scriptures make them responsible for protection of the temples against lightning, cyclone, etc. (5) Some see in them the depiction of the fertility cult. This element in Hindu worship had its origin in agricultural fertility rites. It is an aspect of Indian religious cult which baffles most Westerners; yet sexual rites in worship are not limited to Asiatic tradition, as even the most casual research into the records of the Ecclesiastical courts of mediaeval Europe will prove. The centralized authority of the Church resisted their intrusion into the orthodox worship; in India the Indian view of life conceived as a whole admitted them into the orthodox worship. (6) (a) The Greek sculptor has produced statues of males and females, naked and in many poses but they are not considered obscene. (b) The nudist societies in foreign countries are not considered detestable. (7) Others ascribe this depiction to the sculptor's desire to put life in its naked reality, and teach the practice of mastery over bodily functions. The abundance of beautiful female figures in the midst of gryphons at the angles is to express the triumph of beauty over ugliness, or to contrast the spiritual with the bestial. (8) These scenes, according to still others, depict versions of sensuous pleasures, which apparently wordly sweet, prove hollow ultimately and thus serve as purgation and purification for spiritual insight. This view is corroborated by certain Tāntrika religious practices of the Tibetan Lāmās who when they reach a certain stage in their development towards the spiritual conquest—the essence of Buddhism—they are allowed to pass through the portals of the obscene idol-houses, which the Tibetan shrines are said to have, for further spiritual progress. They thus serve as tests of the sincerity of the seekers of Truth. Shri Rahul Sankrityayana, the great Buddhist scholar, testified to the above practice in a talk with the author of this article on 30. 11, 57 during his visit to Chhatarpur. (9) A few view in them the

representation of the process of evolution through sexual union. The idea is innate, in the Sāṃkhya system of Indian Philosophy where the origin of the world is due to the meeting of the Puruṣa and the Prakṛti. (10) Some are of the opinion that it is due to the influence of the Kaula Mārga—a religious sect which has the enjoyment of the wordly pleasures as its summum bonum. A few followers, however, take this enjoyment as only a means of attaining by satiety, the highest beautitude and thus it forms part of their Sādhana. (11) The Phallus worship of Śiva in the form of the genital organs of the human male and female is never considered an obscene performance and hence these erotic poses should also not be considered as obscene. (12) The four objects of the integrated complete Indian life of man were : the Dharma, the Artha, the Kāma and the Mokṣa. Each, though overlapping, has arts and sciences thereon well developed. The erotic poses are illustrations as expounded in the Kāma Śāstra. They are to be seen in the friezes of the Baleswar temple in Champawat in the Lohaghat sub-division of the Almora district. They, therefore, were not considered as obscene, widespread as they were even in far and remote places as the above. (13) A local tradition ascribed it to the desire of the sinner, a beautiful Rajput princess ravished while yet a virgin in her sleep by the moon and made big with child who got erected these temples on the altars of which she had performed the exonerative sacrifices to give publicity to her sins, through these erotic poses, in mitigation. (14) A few saw in them the influence of the sinister rituals which ultimately resulted in the almost complete absence of life within the precincts of these beautiful buildings and their misuse before complete disuse. (15) Some say that it represents a decadent phase in art. The above views are efforts to explain erotic poses in the art of the Khajurāho temples. The traditions of the arts are handed down as the verbal traditions. Once they are put into words, the timeless themes persist, and are shaped in the traditions of the arts when the artist throws his total sensibility into his work. It is guided into channels being reshaped incessantly. Ethical heritage, cultural levels and regional conditions are the determining factors. The traditions expand and contract. There are many scenes depicting the religious, social, economic and political conditions. These may be depicting the prevailing conditions or must be their conventionalized forms handed down as traditions with combinations of prevailing conditions. A number of panels in their small friezes depict the prevalent modes of worship. They represent Śiva liṅga as the deity, and worshippers are shown with musical bands comprising mostly conch-shells, bells and drums. They hold offering in their hands and have garlands as also bags of coins for charity. There are scenes depicting schooling during the Brahmacharya stage; the domestic life in its varied and many aspects, for example, women reading and writing, painting, dancing or singing, sporting with birds, looking into mirrors and using collyrium, extracting thorn from foot, etc., and the ascetic life. Scenes present ample materials in the form of dresses, ornaments, and head gears, various musical instruments, various house-hold equipments as couches, etc., used, different professions as engineers, physicians, tailors, barbers, potters, sculptors, labourers in a group carrying loads, and hunters, all wearing ornaments according to status—the four parts of the army; elephantry, cavalry, camel corps and infantry, different weapons as lances, swords, shields and maces, martial music, a judge pronouncing judgment, a commander giving instructions to soldiers. They also depict stages of physical development in the life of men as child-hood, youth, maturity and old age. These and such others scenes exist in plenty which represent gods, goddesses, men and women in different aspects and phases in sculpture comparable to their prototypes, indigenous or foreign.

THEIR COMPARISON WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF FOREIGN AND INDIGENEOUS ARTS.

(Comparison and Influence on, and from them).

The Indian beauty as represented in the Khajurāho temples may be compared to advantage with the Greek beauty as represented in the Greek art. The Greeks took as their ideal the disciplined athletic physical body whereas the Indians took the disciplined state, or subtle body of inner realization, on which they modelled the shape of their image. Training and environment equipped the Greeks and the Indians with their peculiar types and sensibilities. The Greeks, the Iranians and the Indians all met together and the result of this cultural synthesis was the fullest expression through the Mathurā school of art. In the Khajurāho temples there are to be seen carved naked statues of ladies—in one temple in the female statue there is a scorpion carved on the leg—maybe, in the wake of the Greek conception of beautiful female figure. A lady copulating with a dog-like beast depicted in another temple of Khajurāho may be another motif from the Greek art. Many themes and subjects of the Greek inspiration found in the Mathurā sculpture, for example, bacchanalian scenes, the scene of Hercules fighting with the Nemean lion or scene representing the rape of Ganymede are to be found represented in the Khajurāho temples also. Under the influence of the Scythians the sun worship at Mathurā was introduced. There is an image of Sun God installed in one of the Khajurāho temples. The Scythian influence evident strongly in the decorative motifs of the Mathurā sculpture, especially the fabulous animals, winged lions etc., is to be seen strongly in the fabulous animal represented in many permutations and combinations as to its head which at one place is of lion, at another of elephant, at still another of parrot, etc. in the Khajurāho temple. It must be kept in the mind here that the school of Vātsyāyana on the science of Erotics, the famous animal Śārdūla and the worship of the Sun as one of the planets were long ago known to the Indians. As in the Mathurā school of sculpture, the sculptors here catered to the needs of their religious patrons by fashioning out images of gods and goddesses in large numbers and also found scope enough for the free play of genius untrammelled by religious conventions as they gave rich expression to the secular aspect of art in the sphere of decorative motifs, ornamental forms, and above all, in the portraits of human and animal figures and subjects of domestic and other aspects of life. Truly speaking, the Khajurāho sculpture exhibits a range of design, form and expression not to be found in the art of even the Gupta age, said to be the period of the production of some of the finest sculptures under the Mathurā school of art in India. They are not to be found even in the contemporary temples of the Indo-Aryan style at Bhuvaneshwar. They are not contained within the customary walls as the Bhuvaneshwar temples which detract from their complete vision at the first sight but stand on high solid masonry terraces which add to their beauty and grandeur and keep them detached from their temporal environment. Their different component parts were always incorporated into one unified structure and were never or never appeared like additions as in the Bhuvaneshwar temples. The halls of the Khajurāho temples are richly decorated with sculpture in contrast with the excessively plain treatment of the Orissan interiors. A group of three sculptures: Woman with the child, woman looking into a mirror, woman writing letter—recorded to have come from Bhuvaneshwar in the Indian Museum stylistically belong to the Khajurāho school. Un-

like the Orissan type which is pyramidal, the roof of the Khajurāho temples are domical in contour, but their surface texture in horizontal strata is much the same. A comparison of the Khajurāho form of Śikhara with the Orissan type makes one realize the beauty of the former with its flowing profile. The touch-stone of the Indo-Aryan temple is the design of the spires which are the most refined and elegant of their kind in the Khajurāho temples. The culmination of the Indo-Aryan genius in architecture was attained in the Khajurāho temples, indeed.

Inspiration from and to other sources is also to be observed in the art of the Khajurāho temples. The motif of constructing the image of Viṣṇu lying on the World Serpent might have been received from the Viṣṇu temple about 500 A.D. in Deogarh, U. P. The style of constructing the outer portion of the roof of the Mātāngeshwar temple in Khajurāho might have been adopted in the wake of that in Saṅgameshwar temple about 600 or 7th century, A. D. in Mahakut near Badami, S.W. Deccan. The idea of the curvilinear Śikhara with its decorated parts might have been conceived from the temples as the Viṣṇu-Brahmā temple, 8th century, Alampur, South Deccan and the Chaturmukha Mahādeva temple, 8th century, Kutharanachana near Panna, M. P. There are many images of males with beards; these are of gods as Agni (fire), etc., or of sages. That such bearded images of sages existed in 8th century is to be observed in the panel depicting them on the sides of Brahmā in Haccappya-gudi, Aiholi. The image of Viṣṇuvarāha is to be found about 740 A. D. in the Virūpākṣa temple, Partadakal, S. W. Deccan. The big image of Nandī existed about 900, A. D. on corner of top platform (vedi) of Vettuvankoil in Kalugmalai, South India. The style of the making of images as of the Buddha about the 4th century, Bodh Gaya, Bihār now in the National Museum of India, New Delhi must have been known to the Khajurāho sculptors as one such image of the Buddha is in the Jardin Museum at Khajurāho. It may be said that the Sāranāth traditions and the major trends of Mālava, Pallava, and the Deccan sculpture from the 7th century onwards are all reflected in varying measures in the Khajurāho sculptures as contained in the existing Khajurāho temples. Traditions of these must have been the inspiring factors for the builders of the Khajurāho temples. The statue of lion, Suhaniya about the 11th century, now in the Gwalior fort museum, and the style of construction of the details of wells of Nilakanṭheśvara temple about 1040-1080 in Udaipura, M. P. and the art of the construction of the inner ceiling in accordance with the geometrical designs of many kinds and the lintel of the door-ways festooned with cusped archways in the Dilwara temples of the Indo-Aryan style must have been inspired by their peototypes in the Khajurāho temples.

CONCLUSION

The above presentation is a very modest effort (based on the author's personal knowledge obtained by observation after many visits to the place and also by study of volumes written by experts to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness) to see the Khajurāho temples from a very limited point of view. The author has pieced together systematically extracts from his article in which the subject has been viewed in its perspective comprising brief descriptions of schools of different styles of architecture and sculpture as they flourished in different periods and the

description of every individual temple with its varied and rich details; it is not at all possible to comprehend them within the scope of the limited canvas. Every look of even a casual visitor reveals new wealth of details every time, not to say of the look of one who visits them with keen curiosity for deriving some knowledge from them. This modest effort is intended to stimulate that curiosity about these Khajurāho temples—the embodiment of the wealth of knowledge about the plastic art at its height in the country—the glory that was (and is) Ind.

BELIEF IN A SOLAR WORLD IN INDIA

(As Old as 3000 B. C.)

K. N. Śāstrī, G 256, East, Vinay Nagar, New Delhi

The discovery of two prehistoric cemeteries at Harappa has thrown flood of light on the mode of disposal of the dead and the eschatological beliefs of the Indus people. In one of them—the Cemetery H—were exhumed two strata of human burials of a prehistoric people who appeared on the scene when the earlier Harappa culture was dying. The first stratum yielded about 135 burial urns (fig. 1 a) and the second a large number of earth burials accompanied by funeral pottery of a peculiar type (fig. 5 b).

Of the 135 burial urns nearly eighty contained dismembered human bones while the rest were merely empty ceremonial jars. Eleven urns contained dead bodies of babies laid to rest entire in embryonic position. The adults were, however, first exposed to the elements and thereafter the excarnated bones were deposited in the urns. Many urns were painted with such designs as solar orbs, stars, animals, plants and hybrid human figures.

Spirit of the Dead Man

The following burial jars were particularly interesting on account of their exceptionally significant paintings:—

An ellipsoid urn (H 206 b) which is painted with two almost identical burial scenes (fig. 2). Each scene shows a therianthrope figure looking right. The upper part of its body is that of a peacock and the lower one is human. In each of the talon-like hands it is securing a bovine animal by means of a rope and also holding a bow and arrow in the left hand. a snarling dog is attacking the left-hand animal and biting at its tail. The duplicate scene on the opposite side of the urn shows on the head of each bovine animal a crest symbolizing, as it were, the triumphant emergence of the group from the ordeals of the fateful journey. Here the left-hand animal is without tail and the intestines, and no longer pursued by the dog. In the intervening space also figure two horned peacocks and a large bearded goat. The crested goat may be the deified intermediary acting as the path-finder for the deceased in his journey to the unknown world.

Evidently the therianthrope figure standing between the animals represents the subtle body (*sūkṣma śarīra*) of the dead person and the animals are his guides. Incidentally an allusion may be made to the custom among the Vedic Aryans of slaughtering *Anustaraṇī* cow at the time of cremating the dead person and covering his or her head with the marrow of the sacrificed animal. This was to act as balm to assuage the fury of the Fire God (*Kṛavyāda*) who was also invoked to be kind to the deceased and transport him gently to the higher regions. Further, the entrails of the slaughtered animal were placed in the hands of the dead as food for Yama's dog. It is interesting to find in the duplicate scene

the dog and the entrails of the animal both missing as if the canine intruder had run away with its allotted share. In post-Vedic times *Anustaraṇī* was replaced by the *Vaitaraṇī* cow which the dying man gave away as gift to the priest. This custom continues even now among the Hindus.

Spirit Flying to the Solar World

The burial urn No. H 206 (a) shows three flying peacocks, each carrying in its circular body the spirit of the dead person to the Solar Regions (fig 3). The spirit is strikingly similar to the one painted on urn No. H 206 (b) just described and symbolizes the dead person whose bones formed the contents of the burial jar. The vacant space between the peacocks is filled with groups of stars.

Spirit Riding Bull

The burial urn 7435 E is painted with a very interesting funeral scene comprising four syncretic animals alternating with flying peacocks and stars (fig. 4 a). The bodies of the former are bovine but the heads are the foreparts of the peacock. The most fascinating feature of this composition is that the spirit of the dead, which is human in the lower and avian in the upper half of the body, is shown riding the composite bull—in one case on its neck. In the fourth bull, the overriding spirit has completely merged in the animal and become part and parcel of it.

Equally interesting are the paintings on some urn-covers (fig. 5 d) and potsherds. The commonest motifs on the former consist of peacocks, goats, fishes, stars, solar orbs, *pīṭal* leaves, etc. Some of the painted sherds exhibit extremely interesting scenes as detailed below:—

Painted Sherds

One sherd shows the middle portion of a bovine animal with a hooked tuft of hair on the hump from which issues a lotus plant. More interesting than this is another sherd which also shows a lotus plant issuing from the hump of a bovine animal (fig. 4 e). The two stalks of this plant are shorter and end in cup-like terminals which perhaps are the seed vessels (fig. 4 e). The two longer stalks in the centre are being held by the spirit riding on the back of the animal. Another sherd shows the hump of an animal on which the therianthropic spirit with shaggy arms is standing (fig 4 d).

A pottery fragment exhibits a humped bull standing in front of the spirit who holds a sword ready to smite the animal (fig 4 b). Perhaps it is the scene of bull-sacrifice in honour of the dead. Another piece shows four peacock-headed spirits standing between two goats. They are evidently journeying to the next world under the goats who are their path-finders.

Conclusions

The fact that these paintings occur on burial urns clearly proves that they have funeral significance. They mirror current popular beliefs

regarding the fate of the man after death. It can hardly be questioned that the Cemetery H people believed in the continuity of human life even after death and in the passage of the spirit in diverse forms of animal and plant life. Ultimately, the spirit reached the Land of Bliss, which was *par excellence* the Solar World, where there were running streams teeming with fish, majestic shady trees, eternal sunshine and luminous aerial regions resonant with singing birds. Here the spirit resided in eternal peace and happiness.

But before gaining admission into the Land of Bliss it had to pass through the ordeal of a perilous journey and to cross a treacherous river where there were no boats or ferrymen. A fierce watch dog infested the trackless path. It was the duty of the living kinsmen to provide the dead with the necessities that he needed in the journey. The bovine animals were sacrificed to accompany the spirit as its vehicles and the sure-footed goat was obviously the most fitting companion as a guide in the journey.

Land of Bliss

Before entering the Solar World it was, however, essential that the spirit should be partly transformed into peacock. This bird was clearly a connecting link between the world of the mortals and the Solar World. On the burial urns described above we have seen some peacocks transporting the spirit to the higher spheres and others hopping about the metamorphosed spirit as its guides (fig. 2). On urn 7435 E we have also noticed the composite spirit riding composite bulls and the peacocks hopping about as guides (fig. 4 a). Evidently the bull, the peacock, the *pīpal* and the lotus were associated with the Solar World in one way or the other.

A large number of burial urns and other funeral pottery from Cemetery H show rayed orbs, which unmistakably symbolize the sun. From time immemorial the peacock has been associated with the sun, because its plumage bears striking resemblance to the solar disc. There is no other known bird on the face of the earth that can rival it in the majesty of its form and the splendour of its multi-coloured plumage which when spread out brings to mind the solar disc. The peacock is fittingly called the sun-bird.

The *pīpal* tree was also associated with the sun. The Indus seals depict adeity standing inside a *pīpal* arch whose leaves radiate in the form of solar rays (fig. 1 b). Again, certain sherds from Chanhudaro show solar orbs whose rays are shooting forth in the form of *pīpal* leaves and peacocks are in attendance upon them (fig. 5 a). In some instances peacocks are seen perching on their branches and pecking at them, perhaps trying to counteract the effects of poisonous insects clinging to it. (fig. 5 c) Peacock's efficacy for counteracting the poison is referred to in the Rgveda.

The association of the lotus with the sun is beyond question. Indian literature is replete with allusions to the 'forest of lotuses' blossoming at the sight of the sun in the morning and withering at the sunset. The Indus people were aware of this trait, that is why they associated it with the sun.

From time immemorial the bull is a sacred animal in India. In

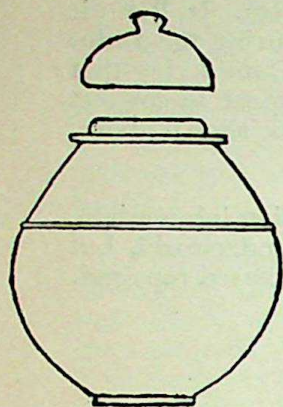
Vedic times *mahokṣa* (the grand bull) was held in high esteem. In Purāṇic age it became the sacred *Nandī* bull as Śiva's vehicle. During the Indus period it must have been associated with some god. Considering that Pīpal God was the Supreme Deity of the times it is but logical to connect this noblest of the domestic animals with that god which, as shown above, was possibly the sun-god.

It is remarkable that the Indus people, though practising inhumation, did not believe like Sumerians or the Semitics, in a dark underworld, but in a luminous celestial world to which the spirits of the deceased repaired. In this respect they, come very close to the Vedic Aryans.

Vedic Comparisons

The Atharva-Veda mentions that ox was sacrificed for the dead presumably to ride on. The burial paintings on the Harappa pottery actually show the dead man riding a bull. In the Ṛgveda (X) the soul is spoken of as going to the water, plants, etc., a conception that is confirmed by the pictorial representations on the Indus pottery. The same *Saṁhitā* mentions a celestial tree which, according to the Atharva-Veda, is a fig tree. The *pīpal* tree is a fig tree as it belongs to the *ficus* genus and is known as *ficus religiosa* (the sacred fig tree). The Vedic literature also refers to the spies (*spāśas*) of Varuṇa and Pūṣan's surefooted goat acting as guides (*Prāpaśya*) on the roads. All these concepts are well reflected in the paintings on the funeral pottery of the Cemetery H.

As yet very little is known about the racial peculiarities of the Indus people. Every point of comparison or contrast between them and the Vedic Aryans should be carefully noted. A study of the subject on these lines coupled with the possibility of future discoveries is bound to supply some clue to the solution of this most vexed problem.



a

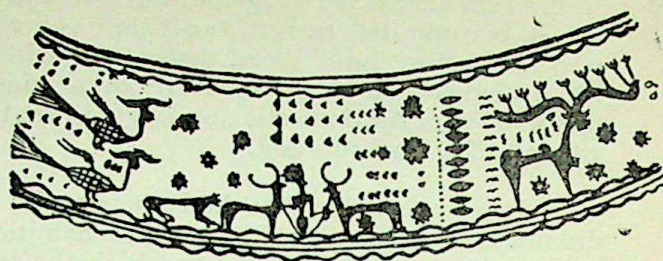


FIG. 2



b

FIG. 1

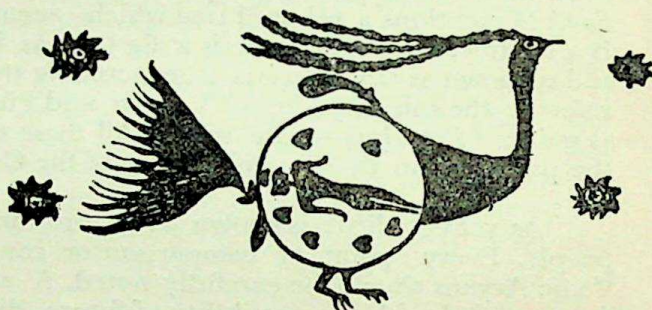
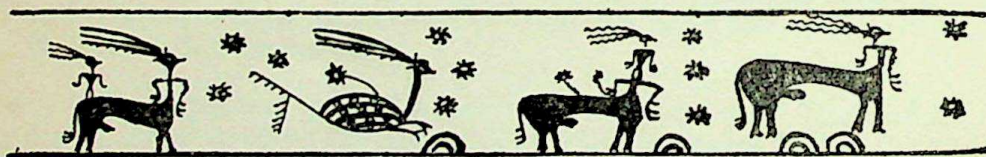


FIG. 3



b



c

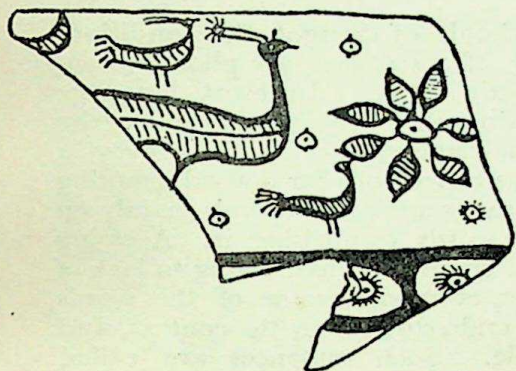


d



e

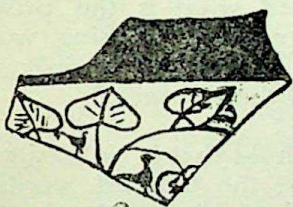
FIG. 4



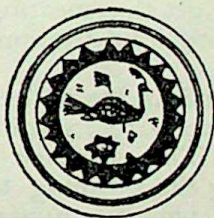
a



b



c



d

FIG. 5.

ELLIPTICAL SENTENCE—INDIAN THEORIES

by

Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja

According to most of the Indian schools of thought the conditions for the understanding of the meaning of a sentence are phonetic contiguity, logical consistency, and syntactic unity. In every language certain words necessarily require certain other words to complete the sense; thus a noun in the nominative case requires a verb to convey a complete meaning; a verb like "take" has expectancy for a word denoting some object. The syntactic unity of the sentence depends mainly on *Ākāṅkṣā*, or the mutual expectancy of the words comprising it. A string of unconnected words does not convey a complete sense, owing to lack of mutual expectancy. Sometimes, however, even when some of the words are missing, they could very easily be understood from the context, and hence verbal comprehension is possible. Such sentences are called elliptical. There are different theories about the process of verbal comprehension from such sentences.

In the case of an elliptical sentence where the intended meaning is understood from the context even though some of the words necessary for syntactic completeness are not actually expressed, what is the process of verbal comprehension? Do we have to supply the missing words before we can get the meaning of the sentence, or do we supply the general meaning from the context and understand the sentence?

The Mimāṃsakas of the Prābhākara school hold that it is easier to supply the necessary meaning than to presume the omitted words as understood.¹ The presence of the words can be understood only after understanding the meaning to be supplied in the context; when that meaning is known, it is unnecessary to presume the existence of the words, since we are interested in the meanings, and not in the words. Moreover, the presence of a word is not essential for the recollection of its meaning.² Therefore, they argue that in all such cases it is the omitted meaning, not the actual word, that is to be supplied. This is known as the *Arthā-dhyāhāra* view.

Kumārīlabhaṭṭa rejects this view and maintains that in all such cases it is necessary to supply the omitted words themselves in order that

1. *Vākyārthamāṭṛkāvali* (*Prakaraṇaṣaṅkikā*), p. 8 :

सन्निधिः शब्दजन्मैव व्युत्पत्तौ नोपलक्षणम् ।

अध्याहृतेनाप्यर्थेन लोके सम्बन्धदर्शनात् ।

Mānameyodaya, p. 100 गुरुस्तु बुद्धिसन्निधिमात्रमेव सन्निधिं मन्यते, न तु शब्दसन्निधिम् ।

2. *Vākyārthamāṭṛkāvali*, p. 8 : न च वाच्यं शब्द एवाध्याह्रियते, स चार्थमुपकल्पयतीति

अनुपयोगाद् अप्रमाणकत्वाच्च ।

we may have the verbal comprehension of meaning.¹ In ordinary conversation when an incomplete sentence such as "The door-" is heard, we take along with it as understood some word like 'close' or 'open' to form a syntactically complete sentence which can give the meaning. So also in the Vedic injunction *Viśvajitā yajeta* (The Viśvajit sacrifice is to be performed) we have to supply the word *Svargakāmaḥ* (By one who desires heaven) in order to satisfy the expectancy and make it a complete sentence. Syntactic expectancy has to be satisfied by supplying the actual words missing.² Verbal comprehension is possible only from syntactically complete sentences, and therefore the view about the supplying of the meaning is not acceptable. There are different means of cognition such as perception and inference, by which meaning may be understood; thus the idea of a pot may be conveyed by just pointing to it.³ Combinations of more than one way are also possible, as in the sentence "Take this", with pointing to the object intended. Similarly one who sees a white object, and hears the neighing and the noise of galloping may understand that a white horse is galloping, even without the cognition of the words expressing the idea.⁴ But this knowledge is arrived at either from inference, or *arthāpatti* (Postulation, or immediate inference from negative concomitants) and is not verbal. The Vedāntins and the Naiyāyikas also agree with the Bhāṭṭa view of supplying the omitted words (*Padādhyāhāra*) in the case of incomplete sentences in order to have verbal comprehension.⁵

According to the Mīmāṃsakas it is through *Arthāpatti* that we cognize the omitted word or idea in such cases. Etymologically *arthāpatti* means the postulation (*āpatti*) of a fact (*artha*); it is the process by which we get the knowledge of a fact that explains what is otherwise unaccountable.⁶ Śābara says that it is the postulation of some fact when what is seen or heard is otherwise inexplicable.⁷ Thus on seeing that Devadatta who is known to be alive, is not at home his presence outside is presumed; on hearing that Devadatta who is fat does not eat during day time, it is presumed that he eats during night. In such cases the postulation of a fact is necessary to explain two known facts that are apparently contradictory. Śābara refers to two types of *Arthāpatti*: *Dṛṣṭārthāpatti* or postulation from what is seen, and *Śrutarthāpatti* or postulation from what is heard.

1. *Mānameyodaya*, p. 101. शब्दस्यैवान्वयार्हत्वात् द्वारं आत्रियतामिति शब्दाध्याहार एवस्यादित्येवं मादृशां मतम् ।

2. *Nyāyakośa*, p. 113. शाब्दी ह्याकांक्षा शब्देनैव प्रपूर्यते ।

3. Huparikar, *Teaching of Sanskrit*, p. 441.

4. *Slokavārttika*.

पश्यतः श्वेतिमारूपं ह्येषाशब्दं च शृण्वतः ।

सुरनिष्पेव शब्दं च श्वेतोऽश्वो धावतीति धीः ॥

5. *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, IV; *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, under verse 83.

6. *Mānameyodaya*, p. 118.

अन्वयानुपपत्त्या यदुपपादककल्पनम् ।

तदर्थोपपत्तिः ।

7. *Śābarabhāṣya*

अर्थोपत्तिरपि दृष्टः श्रुतो वार्थोऽन्यथा नोपपद्यते इत्यर्थकल्पना ।

According to the Prābhākara school¹ *Arthāpatti* consists in the postulation of a fact, and not of a word, and hence, even in the case of elliptical sentences it is only the general meaning that can be cognized through it. But Kumārilabhaṭṭa explains *Dr̥ṣṭārthāpatti* as postulation from what is experienced, and gives a new interpretation for *Śrutārthāpatti*.² It is the postulation of the omitted words to make out the syntactic relation in the case of elliptical sentences. The Prābhākara school does not accept such an interpretation for *Śrutārthāpatti*.

The Vedāntins also follow the Bhāṭṭa school in their view about elliptical sentences.³ The Naiyāyikas too agree with them in emphasizing the necessity of supplying the actual words in the case of incomplete sentences in order to have verbal comprehension.⁴ But they do not accept *Arthāpatti* as a separate means of valid cognition; instead they include it under inference based on an invariable concomitance between the absence of the major term and the absence of the middle term, *Anumāna* of the *Kevalavyatireki* type.⁵

Incomplete sentences are of two kinds : the normal elliptical sentence where the syntactic expectancy is not fully satisfied, and the syntactically complete sentence where the psychological expectancy is not fully satisfied.⁶ Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgārāprakāśa* distinguishes these two types clearly, he calls the former *Adhyāhāra* and the latter *Vākyaśeṣa*.⁷ Both are incomplete sentences leaving something to be understood. In *Adhyāhāra* the sentence is syntactically incomplete and requires the postulation of the necessary word as understood, whereas in *Vākyaśeṣa* it is the idea that is incomplete. Owing to the purposive nature of speech it is held that the ultimate meaning of every sentence is to influence some action. Even in cases where it is not actually expressed, it has to be understood. Thus the sentence "The road is full of thieves" means "Do not go that way", and the sentence "There are crocodiles in the pond" means that one should not bathe in it. These ideas are got through *Vākyaśeṣa*.⁸ It will

1. *Vākyaarthamātrkāvali*, p. 8 f.

न च दारमिति यत्राध्याहारस्तत्रापि 'आत्रियता' 'संत्रियता' इति वा कल्पयितुं अर्थापत्तेः प्रभविष्णुता सामान्यकल्पनामात्रहेतुत्वात् ।

2. *Mānameyodaya*, p. 129.

यत्र त्वपरिपूर्णस्य वाक्यस्यान्वयसिद्धये ।

शब्दोऽध्याह्रियते तत्र श्रुतार्थापत्तिरिष्यते ॥

See also *Ślokaavārttika Arthāpatti* section.

3. *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, IV. अश्रुतस्थले तत्पदाध्याहारः ।

4. *Nyāyakośa*, p. 79. अत्र नैयायिकाः । अर्थापत्तिर्न प्रमाणान्तरम् । किं तु व्यतिरेक-
व्याप्त्या अनुमाने ऽन्तर्भावादिति ।

5. *Nyāyakośa*, p. 16 f. नैयायिकैः । शब्दाध्याहारः एव स्वीक्रियते । न त्वर्थाध्याहारः ।
Also *Siddhāntamuktāvali* under verse 83.

6. *Ibid*, p. 79. श्रुतार्थापत्तिश्च द्विविधा, अभिधानानुपपत्तिरभिहितानुपपत्तिश्च ।

7. V. Raghavan, *Śṛṅgārāprakāśa*, vol. II, p. 180.

शब्दाकाङ्क्षानिवर्तकोऽध्याहारः, अर्थाकाङ्क्षानिवर्तको वाक्यरोषः ।

8. Bhoja (quoted by V. Raghavan, *loc. cit.*)

सर्ववाक्यानां विधिनियमपर्यवसायित्वात् सान्नात् तदश्रुतावपि तदुपकल्पनं वाक्यरोषः,
'सचोरः पन्थाः' इत्युक्ते 'न गन्तव्यम्' इति वाक्यरोषो भवति ॥

be seen that Bhoja is striking a middle path between the two extreme views adopted by the two schools of Mīmāṃsā. In the case of elliptical sentences it is better to supply the actual words to remove syntactic expectancy; but it is too much to assume that further ideas suggested or implied by the sentence have to be got through the presumption of the actual words expressing them.

Bhartrhari has discussed the problem of the elliptical sentences in the second chapter of the *Vākyapadīya*.¹ He has no difficulty in explaining them, for from his point of view there is no elliptical sentence at all. If what appears to be part of another sentence is capable of conveying a complete sense in the particular context in which it is used, that is also a complete sentence. The sentence is an indivisible unit and the division into words, stems and suffixes is only an artificial means of analysing the language. The meaning of an utterance is that which is conveyed to the listeners by uttering it; there is no other definition of meaning.² Even a noun is a sentence if it implies the verb, and gives a complete idea. Similarly a verb is a sentence if it gives a complete sense. If Devadatta is known as Deva or Datta, all the three should be considered as synonyms referring to the same person; so also if the "Tree" gives the idea of "The tree exists" the two are to be considered as two different sentences. The shorter one cannot be considered as part of the longer one.

A similar view about the nature of elliptical sentences is given by Wittgenstein in his *Philosophical Investigations*. He says,³ "Is the call 'Slab' a sentence or a word? It is our elliptical sentence, i.e., a shortened form of the sentence 'Bring me a slab'. Can we say 'Bring me a slab' a lengthening of the sentence 'Slab'? How do we understand it? Do we say the unshortened sentence to ourselves? And why should I translate the call 'Slab' into a different expression in order to say what some one means by it? Here Wittgenstein seems to echo the views of Bhartrhari. "The sentence is elliptical, not because it leaves out something that we think, when we utter it, but because it is shortened — in comparison with a particular paradigm of our grammar".

1. *Vākyapadīya*, II. verses 326 ff.

2. *ibid*, 328

यस्मिन्स्तुच्चरिते शब्दे यदायोऽर्थः प्रतीयते ।

तमाहुरर्थं तस्यैव नान्यदर्थस्य लक्षणम् ॥

3. *Philosophical Investigations*, p. 19.

4. *ibid*, p. 20.

SOUNDS AND PROSODIES OF CERTAIN COGNATES IN THE DRAVIDIAN

by

Professor M. Mariappa Bhat,

Head of the Dept. of Kannada, University of Madras.

An attempt is made here to describe some cognate pieces in the Dravidian from the prosodic point of the multisystemic analysis, as suggested by Professor Firth. He says: "Lindley Murray's English Grammar (1795) is divided in accordance with good European tradition into four parts, viz Orthography, Etymology, Syntax and Prosody. Part IV Prosody begins as follows: "Prosody consists of two parts: the former teaches the true Pronunciation of words, comprising Accent, Quantity, Emphasis, Pause and Tone and the latter, the laws of verification".¹ It is to this first part of prosody that Professor Firth attaches utmost importance and adapts the principles contained therein to work upon one of the levels of his multisystemic analysis of linguistic material. He prefers to call the phonetic and phonological analysis of the word respectively as sound and prosodies.²

Just one illustration from Firth may make the point somewhat clear: "More detailed notice of 'h' and the glottal stop in a variety of languages will reveal the scientific convenience of regarding them as belonging to the prosodic systems of certain languages rather than to the sound systems. 'h' has been variously considered as a sort of vowel or a consonant in certain languages and the glottal stop as a variety of things. Phonetically, the glottal stop, unreleased, is the negation of all sound whether vocalic or consonantal. Is it the perfect minimum or terminus of the syllable, the beginning and the end, the master or maximum consonant? We have a good illustration of that in the American or Tamil exclamation ? a ? a or is it just a necessary metrical pause or rest, a sort of measure of time, a sort of mora or mātrā? Is it therefore a general syllable maker or marker, part of the syllabic structure? As we shall see later, it may be all or any of these things, or just a member of the consonant system according the language".³ Having this as the basis, the pronunciation and phonology of a dialect or language could be studied. The elements of the utterance could be distinguished by their diacritica as phonematic or prosodic. "The prosodic diacritica included tone, voice quality and other properties of the sonants and also yōtization and labiovelarization symbolized by "y" and "W".

1. Sounds and Prosodies - Firth, p. 137.

2. *ibid*, p. 130.

3. *ibid*, p. 132.

This kind of linguistic analysis may be employed to describe some of the interchanges in cognates between two languages wherein phonematic units in one may be represented in another by prosodies. Some examples in broad transcriptions to illustrate the above :—

	<i>Kannada</i> <i>Careful</i>	<i>Havyaka Dialect,</i> <i>quick</i>
(i)	timbavaru mavanavaru	timbōwru mavanowru
(ii)	antaha intaha	antah intah

(i) In timbavaru we have a four-syllable word (CVMCVVCVCV). In timbōwru there are three syllables (CVMCVWCV) by a sort of "Coalescence" in which "bōw" indicates a long half open and prominent vowel and a labiovelarized "W" on account of which the very syllable "bow" or symbolically CVW is so prominent that it may be regarded as the nucleus of the group of syllables forming this particular type of compound. It is their prosody of length and "W"-ness which marks the function of the this category of words in the Havyaka dialect.

(ii) In 'antaha' we have a three-syllable word in which "h" is phonematic (VNCVCV). In 'antah' there are two syllables in which "ah" indicates an open "h" coloured breathy vowel (VNCVH). In the latter "h" is not phonematic. What was "h" sound in the former has become a prosody of "h".

Examples of loan provide some interesting prosodial features:—

(iii)	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Tadbhavas in Tulu</i>
	bhaṅga	boṅṅa
	aṅkana	aṅṅaṇa ,,

In 'bhaṅga' the word has (CVNVCV) two syllables while in the *tadbhava* found in Tulu also the word baṅṅa has two syllables (CVNNV). Though the two seem to be "equipollent" one is prosodically quite different from the other in its structure. There is a long velar nasal and the prosody of velar nasality runs throughout the utterance which perhaps can be well illustrated with tracings of kymography.

श्रीमद्भागवतस्य वैशिष्ट्यम्

डाक्टर नरेन्द्रनाथ शर्मा चौधरी, एम. ए., डी. लिट्
दिल्ली-विश्वविद्यालयः

श्रीमद्भागवतं पुराणेषु नितरामभ्यहितं स्थानमधिकरोति । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य कर्तृत्वविचारः कालनिर्णयो वा न मे निबन्धस्य विषयः । ऐतिहासिका एव तत्र प्रमाणम् । केवलमस्य ग्रन्थस्य वैशिष्ट्येषु किञ्चिन्मात्रमधिकृत्य द्वित्राः शब्दाः कथयिष्यन्ते ।

(क) भागवतस्य प्रथमं वैशिष्ट्यं तु दशलक्षणत्वरूपम् । तथा हि—पुराणेषु 'सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च, वंशानुचरितं चे'ति पञ्चविषया वर्णयितव्या वर्तन्ते । परन्तु भागवतं न केवलं पञ्चलक्षणम्, अपि तु दशलक्षणं विद्यते । तथा चोक्तं भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धे—

‘तस्मा इदं भागवतं पुराणं दशलक्षणम् ॥ २, ९, ४३

अत्र सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमृतयः ।

मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥ २, १०, १

अत्र परमाश्रयस्य परब्रह्मणः परमात्मनः सम्यग्ज्ञानाय सर्गप्रतिसर्गादीनां नवानां वर्णनं वर्तते, न तु तदेव मुख्यम् । उक्तं च प्रथमस्कन्धे—

‘इदं भागवतं नाम पुराणं ब्रह्मसम्मितम् ॥ १, ३, ४०

भागवतमधिकृत्य गुरुरम्परातः श्रूयते यदयं ग्रन्थः श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताया भाष्यभूतश्च-कास्ति । गीतायां विचारितस्य सिद्धान्तितस्य च विषयजातस्य उदाहरणप्रत्युदाहरणादिना विशदीकरणं सुस्थापनं च भागवते विहितम् ।

(ख) अथ भागवतस्य अन्यत् किञ्चिद् वैशिष्ट्यमधुना प्रदर्श्यते । भागवते खलु ब्राह्मण-क्षत्र-वैश्य-शूद्राणां मन्वादिस्मृतिशास्त्रवत् वर्णनं कृतम् । परन्तु भागवते न केवलं जन्मना जातिस्वरूपनिरूपणमपि तु गीतोक्तदिशा गुणैः कर्मभिरपि । इत्थं ब्राह्मणलक्षणानि शूद्रेपि स्युस्तर्हि तस्यापि ब्राह्मणत्वमेव, न तु शूद्रत्वमिति भागवतमतं वरीवर्ति ।

तथा चोक्तं सप्तमस्कन्धे—

‘यस्य यल्लक्षणं प्रोक्तं पुंसो वर्णाभिव्यञ्जकम् ।

यदन्यत्रापि दृश्येत तत् तेनैव विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ७, ११, ३५

अत एव भगवता श्रीचैतन्यदेवेन यवनो ब्राह्मणगुणसम्पन्नो हरिदासोऽपि परमवैष्णवत्वेन परिगृहीतः, प्रसादितश्च ।

(ग) भागवतस्य अपरं वैशिष्ट्यं तावत् भूतेषु देवताबुद्धिः । यद्यपि इदं तत्त्वं खलु ईशोपनिषदि—‘यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानी’ति श्रुत्या, गीतायां च ‘सर्वभूतस्थमात्मानाम्’ इत्यादिस्मृत्या प्रतिपादितं तथापि भागवते सप्तमस्कन्धे—

‘तन्मूलत्वादच्युतेज्या सर्वजीवात्मतर्पणम् ॥ ७, १४, ३६

इत्यादिशास्त्रेणापि निर्गलितार्थो दत्तः । इदमेव तत्त्वं श्रीरामकृष्णसेवाश्रमेऽपि ‘यत्र यत्र जीवस्तत्र तत्र शिवः’ इति शास्त्रेण रूपायितं दृश्यते ।

(घ) अपि च सर्वप्राणिनां समत्वस्य खलु प्रतिपादनं भागवते कृतम् । तथा हि ‘केवलाघो

भवति केवलादी' इति श्रुत्या ऋग्वेदे (१०, ११७, ६) स्वाथकनिष्ठस्य निन्दा कृता । गीतायां च तृतीयाध्याये—

‘यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः ।

भुञ्जते ते त्वघं पापा ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात् ॥’ ३, १३

इत्यादिस्मृत्या न केवलं स्वार्थपराणां निन्दा कृता, अपि तु परार्थपराणां प्रशंसापि भङ्ग्या विहिता । भागवते तु सप्तमस्कन्धे—

‘यावद् भ्रियेत जठरं तावत्स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम् ।

अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति ॥’ ७, १४, ८

इति शास्त्रेण केवलादिनो न केवलं निन्दा विहिता, अपि तु तस्य चीरत्वं दण्ड्यत्वं च प्रतिपादितम् ।

(ङ) अथापरं वैशिष्ट्यं भागवतस्य भगवत्प्राप्तेरुपायवर्णनमितिहासादिभिः समर्थनं च । भागवते नवलक्षणा भक्तिर्वर्णिता, सा च—

‘श्रवणं कीर्तनं विष्णोः स्मरणं पादसेवनम्

अर्चनं वन्दनं दास्यं सख्यमात्मनिवेदनम् ॥’ ७, ५, २३

अथैतया नवलक्षणया भक्त्या भगवत्प्राप्तिर्भवतीति च प्रतिपादितं तत्र । परन्तु विद्विषः शिशुपालस्य, इन्द्रप्रस्थे राजसूययज्ञे कृष्णेन विहृतस्य, तद्देहोत्थितं ज्योतिः कथं वासुदेवमुपाविशत्, कथं वा तस्य भगवत्प्राप्तिर्जातिरिति प्रश्नस्य सुन्दरं समाधानं भागवते कृतम् । तथाहि—भगवत्प्राप्तये केनाप्युपायेन मनः खलु भगवन्मयं कर्तव्यमस्ति । तदपि भागवतमते वैरानुबन्धेन यथा सुकरं न तथा अन्येन केनाप्युपायेन । उक्तं च भागवते सप्तमस्कन्धे—

‘यथा वैरानुबन्धेन मर्त्यस्तन्मयतामियात् ।

न तथा भक्तियोगेन इति मे निश्चिता मतिः ॥’ ७, १, २६

अस्य मतस्य समर्थनाय एकं लौकिकमुदाहरणमपि दत्तम् । तद्धि—

‘कीटः पेशस्कृता रुद्धः कुड्यायां तमनुस्मरन् ।

संरम्भभययोगेन विन्दते तत्स्वरूपताम् ॥’ ७, १, २७

एवं कृष्णे भगवति मायामनुज ईश्वरे ।

वैरेण पूतपाप्मानस्तमापुरनुचिन्तया ॥’ ७, १, २८

अथास्मिन्विषये काचित् शङ्का संजायते । तथा हि—यदिभगवन्निन्दया मुक्तिः संभवति, तर्हि वेनस्य कथं न मुक्तिः संजाता, कथं वा स द्विजैस्तमसि पातितः ? अस्य सन्देहस्य उत्तरमेतदेव यत् वेनस्य भगवन्निन्दा न तन्मयतामापादयत् । अतो न तस्य भगवत्प्राप्तिः समभवत् ।

श्रीमधुसूदनसरस्वतीपादेन तु भक्तिरसायने भगवद्भावना द्रुतस्य चित्तस्य भगवद्रूपता एव भक्तिरिति सिद्धान्तितम् । अत एव तन्मते तन्मयतासम्पादकानां द्वेषादीनामपि भक्तिपदवाच्यतावास्ति । उक्तं च तेन—

‘द्रुतस्य भगवद्धर्मो धारावाहिकतां गता ।

सर्वशे मनसो वृत्तिर्भक्तिरित्यभिधीयते ॥’ १, ३

(च) अथान्यद् वैशिष्ट्यं तु भागवतस्य नाममाहात्म्यदर्शनम् । अस्य नामोपासनस्य विधानम्—

‘ओमित्यक्षरमुद्गीयमुपासीत’ इत्यादि श्रुती छान्दोग्योपनिषदि (१, ४, १) दृश्यते ।
अस्या एव श्रुतेर्भाष्यं गीतायाम्—

‘अनन्याश्चिन्तयन्तो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते ।’ १, २२
‘अनन्यचेताः सततं यो मां स्मरति नित्यशः ।’ ८, १४
‘तस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु मामनुस्मर युध्य च ।’ ८, ७
‘सततं कीर्तयन्तो मां यतन्तश्च दृढव्रताः ।
नमस्यन्तश्च मां भक्त्या नित्ययुक्ता उपासते ॥’ ९, १४

इत्यादिस्मृत्या विहितम् ।

अथ भागवते तु अस्यैव नामस्मरणविधानस्य भाष्यं न केवलं वाक्येन कृतम्, अपि तु उदाहरणोपन्यासेन सुस्थापितम् । तत्तु अजामिलकथया । अयं हि अजामिलो मृत्युकाले उपस्थिते, नारायणनामधेयस्य पुत्रस्य नामोच्चारणप्रभावेण वैकुण्ठमवाप । तथा चोक्तं भागवते षष्ठस्कन्धे—

‘दूरे क्रीडनकासक्तं पुत्रं नारायणाह्वयम् ।
प्लावितेन स्वरेणोच्चैराजुहावाकुलेन्द्रियः ॥ ६, १, २९
निशम्य म्रियमाणस्य ब्रुवतो हरिकीर्तनम् ।
भर्तुर्नाम महाराज, पार्षदाः सहसाऽपतन् ॥’ ६, १, ३०

एवं च यथा कश्चित् वीर्यवदौषधमजानन्नपि सेवमानो रोगात् मुक्तो भवति तथा अज्ञानादपि विष्णुनामोच्चारणेन जनः पापात् मुच्यते । उक्तं च भागवते षष्ठस्कन्धे—

‘अज्ञानादथवा ज्ञानादुत्तमश्लोकनाम यत् ।
संकीर्तितमघं पुंसो दहेदधो यथानलः ॥ ६, २, १८
यथाऽगदं वीर्यतममुपयुक्तं यदृच्छया ।
अज्ञानतोऽप्यात्मगुणं कुर्यान्मन्त्रोऽप्युदाहृतः ॥’ ६, २, १९

(छ) अन्यत् प्रकृष्टतमं वैशिष्ट्यं तु भागवतस्य अद्यत्वे अप्रचलितवैदिकशब्दप्रयोगः वैदिकव्याकरणमात्रसिद्धपदप्रयोगश्च । तथा हि—

भागवते विष्णुसूक्तस्य पुरुषसूक्तस्य च महान्प्रभावो दृश्यते । एवं च ऋग्वेदस्य विष्णुसूक्ते (१, १५४, १-६) ‘उरुगायाय वृष्णे, त्रेधोरुगायः’, ‘उरुक्रमस्य स हि बन्धुरित्या’, ‘त्रिषु विक्रमणेषु’ ‘पार्थिवानि विममे रजांसि’, इत्यादिप्रयोगाः समवलोक्यन्ते । अत्र उरुशब्दस्य महदर्थे बह्वर्थे अत्यधिकार्थे वा, एवं च विक्रमशब्दस्य पादप्रक्षेपार्थे, रजःशब्दस्य च लोकार्थे प्रयोगो वर्तते ।

भागवतेऽपि उरुगायशब्दस्य, उरुक्रमशब्दस्य, विक्रमशब्दस्य लोकार्थरजःशब्दस्य च भूयान्प्रयोगो दरीदृश्यते । तथा हि भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धे—

‘विले वतोरुक्रमविक्रमान् ये
न शृण्वतः कर्णपुटे नरस्य ।
जिह्वाऽसती दार्दुरिकेव सूत
न चोपगायत्युरुगायगाथाः ॥’ २, ३, २०

अपि च—

‘पार्थिवान्यपि कविर्विममे रजांसि ॥’ २, ७, ४०

एवं च श्रवःशब्दस्य, अदभ्रशब्दस्य, गोपीयशब्दस्य, अपीच्यशब्दस्य च वेदे बहुशः प्रयोगो लभ्यते ।
तथा हि ऋग्वेदे—

‘प्र सोमासो मदच्युतः
श्रवसे नो मघोनः ।’ १, ३२, १
‘देवा अदभ्राशवो यमादित्या
अहेतनानेहसो व ऊतयः ।’ ८, ४७, ६
‘गोपीथाय प्रहूयसे ।’ १, १९, १
‘तदस्यानीकमुत चारु नामापीच्यं
वर्धते नप्तुरपाम् ।’ २, ३५, ११

भागवतेऽपि श्रवोऽदभ्रगोपीथापीच्यशब्दानां भूयान्प्रयोगो दरीदृश्यते । कुत्रापि चैषां भिन्नार्थत्वमप्यवलोक्यते ।
तथा हि—

‘अथ तं सुखमासीन उपासीनं बृहच्छ्रवाः ।’ १, ५, १
‘पश्यन्त्यदो रूपमदभ्रचक्षुषा ।’ १, ३, ४
‘शुचिस्मिताः कोऽयमपीच्यदर्शनः ।’ १०, ४७, २

परन्तु वेदे ‘गोपीथाय’ इत्यस्य ‘सोमपानाय’ इत्यर्थः । अपीच्यं च अन्तर्हितनाम ।
भागवते तु गोपीथाय रक्षणाय इत्यर्थः, अपीच्यमुत्तममिति ।

अथ वेदे ‘सुपां सुलुगि’त्यादिना पाणिनेः सूत्रेण सप्तम्या लुग् भवति, तुमर्थे च ‘सेसेव’ इत्यादि सूत्रेण कर्तवे, कर्तव्यं चेत्यादयश्च प्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते ।

यथा—

‘यो अस्याध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन्’ (ऋग्वेदः १०, १२९, ७) इति,
‘अवासृजत्सर्तवे सप्त सिन्धून्’ (ऋग्वेदः २, १२, १२) इति च ।

तथा भागवतेऽपि

‘सर्वं क्षणेन तदभूदसदीशरिक्तं
भस्मन् हुतं कुहकराद्धमिवोप्तमूष्याम् ।’ १, १५, २१
‘आत्मन् यदृच्छया प्राप्तं विबुभूषुरुपाददे ।’ २, ५, २१
‘सर्वे वियुक्ताः स्वविहारतन्त्रं
न शक्नुमस्तत् प्रतिहर्तवे ते ।’ ३, ५, ४७

अत्र सप्तम्या लुकि भस्मन् आत्मन् इति तुमर्थे च प्रतिहर्तवे इति च प्रयोगः ।

इत्थं भागवतस्य रचयिता न केवलं महान् भक्तः कविः अपि तु महान् वैदिक इति निर्विवादमेव । अद्य मया तु भागवतस्य केवलानि इमानि वैशिष्ट्यान्यधिकृत्य किञ्चित् कथितम् ।
पुनरप्यस्मिन्निषये स्वाध्यायार्थं महती समीक्षा वरीवृत्यते, अद्य तु अत्रैव विरम्यते ।

RELATION BETWEEN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND THE BRAHMASŪTRA

by

Prof. P. M. Modi

B.A. (Bombay Uni.), M.A. (B.H.U.), Ph.D. (Kiel Uni.), Zala
Vedanta Prize-Winner, Ex-Professor of Sanskrit,

Samaldas College, Bhavnagar.

I beg to say that I have interpreted (in my work "Bhagavadgītā: A Fresh Approach",) "*Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ* in Bha. Gī. XIII. 3 as referring to such sentences of the Upaniṣads as mention *ākāśa*, *prāṇa*, *ānānda*, *vaiśvānara*, *akṣara*, etc., etc., in the sense of Brahman and also give the *hetu* or reason for taking these and other words as Brahman. The reason or *hetu* is that the *ākāśa*, etc., is the cause of the creation, continuation, and dissolution of the Universe, or that the *akṣara* supports or upholds the several entities of which the sky is the last. One of the reasons mentioned in the Muṇḍaka Upa. for taking the Akṣara mentioned in the same Upa. (I.1.5-6) is the *rūpa* or the figure of that Akṣara in that Upaniṣad. I have also shown that if we look to the Sūtra Literature like the Gṛhyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras, the style of these Upaniṣad-passages mentioning Brahman is the same as the style of these Gṛhya- and Dharma-sūtras, so that the Upaniṣad-passages may be called "*sūtras*" or "*sūtra-padas*". So, Bha. Gī. XIII. 3 does not refer to the present Brahmasūtra. There are other arguments also leading to this conclusion.

The main purpose of this Paper is to see a few Sūtras (Bra. sū.I. 4.23-27 and II. 1. 1-12) of the Brahmasūtra which seem to refer to the Gītā.

It seems to me that in Bra. Sū. II. 1. 3 (*etena yogaḥ pratyuktaḥ*) the author of the Brahmasūtra refers to the Yoga or Dis-interested Action of the Bhagavadgītā. Śaṅkara and others take this word yoga here as meditation (*dhyāna*) or the Yoga of Patañjali and then they say that the whole system of that Yoga is *not rejected* by the author of the Brahmasūtra, but only a part of that Yoga, viz., such portion of the Yoga Darśana as resembles the Sāṅkhya system. Śaṅkara says "*Yena tvamśena na virudhyete teneṣṭameva sāmṅhyayogasmṛtyoḥ sāvakāśatvam*". This (*iṣṭam eva sāvakāśatvam*) is in total disregard of the word "*pratyukta*" "*refuted*."

Now, let us look to the context of Bra. Sū. II. 1. 3. (*Etena yogaḥ pratyuktaḥ*). In Bra. Sū. I. 4. 23-27 the author seems to interpret the word or the principle called "*prakṛti*" in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad and in the Gītā. In the earlier Sūtras of this Pāda he has interpreted Śruti-texts and principles claimed by probably the followers of the Gītā and the Mahābhārata as supporting their views on the Prakṛti. Thus the *avyakta* of the Katha Upaniṣad, perhaps claimed by the followers of the Gītā to be identical with its *avyakta*, is refuted by the Sūtrakāra in the first Adhikaraṇa of the Fourth Pāda of Adhyāya I. The word

“*ānumānīka*” in Bra. Sū. I. 4. 1 means ‘based upon or derived from *anumāna* and “*anumāna*” means the Smṛti, viz., the Gītā. In *prakṛtiś ca pratijñādṛṣṭāntānuparodhāt* the Sūtrakāra says that in addition to the principles discussed in the preceding portion of the Brahmasūtra, the Prakṛti both in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad and the Gītā means “Brahman” itself, because the Sūtrakāra would not set aside (*anuparodha*) the Pratijñā and the Dṛṣṭānta of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad. The latter describes the creation from the One *Sat*, therefore, when the Gītā or the MBH describes the creation from the Prakṛti, the Prakṛti must be taken as identical with Brahman. Also, because the Creating Agent has made a thought that It Itself would become many (*abhidhyā-upadeśāt*); hence, the Prakṛti, if it be the creating agent, must mean Brahman which has Itself become many. Another argument is that both creation and destruction of the Universe are mentioned in the Śruti as taking place directly from Brahman (*sākṣāc cobhayāmnānāt*); so, if the Smṛti like the Gītā mentions a Principle like the Prakṛti and if that Smṛti is to be accepted, the Prakṛti must be itself the Brahman and not a Power or a Principle born of Brahman. This seems to be the meaning of *sākṣāt in sākṣāc cobhayāmnānāt*. The fourth reason for taking the Prakṛti of the Gītā as meaning the Brahman Itself is that the change of Brahman is a change in which the “*ṛti*” or the effect is Brahman Itself (*ātmakṛteḥ pariṇāmāt*). Thus, the Created World, which is Brahman Itself in accordance with the Śruti, viz., *Tad ātmānaṃ svayam akuruta* (Tai. Upa. II. 7.), can be Brahman, if the Prakṛti of the Gītā from which the Universe proceeds, is itself Brahman. The last argument of the author of the Brahmasūtra is that Brahman is mentioned as the Yoni, the place-of-origin of beings (*bhūtayoni*). The Sūtra, viz., *Yoniś ca hi gīyate* refers to *tad bhūtayoniṃ pari paśyanti dhūrāḥ* (Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad I. 1. 6 quoted by by Śaṅkara). Because the Brahman is Itself said to be *yoni*, it is easy to interpret the Prakṛti of the Gītā as Brahman Itself and not a Power of Brahman or a Principle created from Brahman.

Now, we come to Bra. Sū. II. 1. 1. The *smṛti-anavakāśadoṣa* in Bra. Sū. II. 1. 1 means “The fault of giving no scope to such Smṛtis as mention Prakṛti, Avyakta, etc., as the direct cause of the Creation;” the Gītā is such a text, such a Smṛti. This *doṣa* or fault comes up because the Prakṛti emphasised in the Gītā rather than and much more than in the Upaniṣads, has been interpreted as Brahman Itself by the Sūtrakāra in Bra. Sū. I. 4 in general and in Bra. Sū. I. 4. 23-27 in particular.

The Sūtrakāra seems to mean that he interprets the Prakṛti of the Gītā as Brahman and so he admits that he gives no scope to the Gītā Smṛti. He further says that he does not give scope to the Gītā Smṛti, because if he gave scope to (the Prakṛti of) the Gītā Smṛti, he will be required to give scope to other Smṛti works like the Nārāyaṇīya Parvan of the Māhābhārata or the Saṃhitās of the Pāñcarātra or the Bhagavata School, which also mention the Prakṛti and similar principles, not mentioned in the principal Upaniṣads. Thus, the Sūtrakāra accepts the Gītā Smṛti but with his own interpretation given to the Prakṛti and other views stated in the Gītā, while he openly rejects all other Smṛtis like the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās. Thus, *anya-smṛti* in Bra. Sū. I. 1. 1 refers to the Nārāyaṇīya Parvan, the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, etc., while the word “*smṛti*” in the same Sūtra refers to the one well-known Smṛti, viz., the Gītā.

Another reason for giving no scope to the Gītā Smṛti is that principles like the Prakṛti but other than the Prakṛti mentioned in the Gītā, such as the Svabhāva in, e.g., *Svabhāvas tu pravartate* (Bha. Gī.V.11), are not met with in the principal Upaniṣads. This is the sense of “*itaresām cānupalabdheḥ*” (Bra.Sū.II.1.2). “*Itaresām*” “others” may mean, “*Parā Prakṛti*” (Bha., Gī. VII.) Mahad Brahman (Bha. Gī. XIV), the lower and the higher Avyakta (Bha.Gī.VIII.19-21) and also several other doctrines and principles of the Gītā, not found in the Upaniṣads.

Thus, the author of the Brahmasūtra sets aside the Gītā Smṛti in his own peculiar way.

After setting aside the Gītā Smṛti in so far as its Prakṛti is concerned, by identifying this well known principle of it with Brahman Itself of the Upaniṣads, the author of the Brahmasūtra says that he rejects the Yoga or Disinterested Action of the same Smṛti (*etena yogaḥ pratyuktaḥ*—Brah.Sū. II.16.3). The Gītā taught that all actions in the world are done by the “*guṇas*” of the Prakṛti and hence a man should follow the Path of Disinterested Action (Bha. Gī. III. 27). When the Brahmasūtra takes the Prakṛti of the Gītā as one with Brahman of the Upaniṣads, naturally the Disinterested Action based upon that Prakṛti is rejected by the Sūtrakāra and that *rejection* is mentioned by him in Sūtra II. 1. 3, which immediately follows the rejection or modified rejection of the Prakṛti.

In Sūtras II. 1. 4-11, which follow, we have a discussion of the following subjects. Sūtras 4-10 first give a Pūrvapakṣa view that the created world is inanimate and hence Brahman which is animate cannot be its Cause and hence the Prakṛti of the Gītā must be admitted. The same Sūtras contain refutation of the arguments of this Pūrvapakṣa. The last argument of the Siddhāntin seems to be that the followers of the Gītā are also not free from the fault attributed by them to the author of Brahmasūtra, because the Gītā cannot explain how the inanimate Prakṛti will be born out of the animate Brahman (*svapakṣadoṣāt*—Sūtra 10). In Sūtra 11 the Gītā seems to argue that the Brahmasūtra should not make an inference in the way it has done in Bra.Sū.I.4 and particularly in Bra. Sū.I.4. 23-27, but that the Brahmasūtra should make an inference in a *different* way (*anyathānumeyam*), so that the Prakṛti of the Gītā can find a place in the principles created from Brahman. The followers of the Gītā base this proposal on the argument of “*tarkāpratiṣṭhāna*”. The Sūtrakāra does not deny the right of the Gītā to suggest a new way of making an inference (re. the relation of Brahman and the Prakṛti), but he says, “Even granting the proposal of the followers of the Gītā Smṛti and accordingly making a new inference (*evam api*), there will result *a-nirmokṣa-prasaṅga*” (Sū.11); so it is no use making a new inference re. the relation of the Prakṛti to the Brahman, though allowable. It may be stated that this answer of the Sūtrakāra that a new inference about the relation of the Prakṛti and Brahman other than the one made in Bra. Sū.I.4.23-27 would lead to the absence of Mokṣa, rules out in my opinion any doctrine like that of Śaṅkara or Rāmānuja in so far as they try to accommodate the Inanimate Principle in their systems in their own way.

After this, the Sūtrakāra seems to say that other principles and doctrines of the Gītā which the Brahmasūtra does not accept literally (*śiṣṭāparigrahaḥ*) should be explained in the light of the Sūtrakāra’s

explanation of the Prakṛti of the Gīta (Bra. Sū. II. 1. 12 *etena śiṣṭāparigrahā api vyākhyātāḥ*). Śaṅkara and others explain “*vyākhyātāḥ*” as *nirākṛtāḥ*, but this is wrong. (Cf. *etena mātariśvā vyākhyātāḥ*—Bra. Sū. II. 3. 8).

Bra. Sū. II. 1. 13-37 seem to refute a view of another work like the Gītā Smṛti, which was a Smṛti work and which held a theory like the *a-jāta-vāda*, (Note the word “*avibhāga*”) a view that there is no creation created by Brahman (or any body else). The Brahmasūtra calls this theory “the theory of *a-vibhāga*” “non-division from the cause” in the Sūtra “*Bhoktrāpatter avibhāgaś cet syāl lokavat*—Bra. Sū. II. 1. 13). *Bhoktrāpatti* (II. 1. 13), *hitākaraṇādidoṣaprasakti* (21), *upasaṁhāradarśana* (II. 1. 24), *kṛtsnaprasakti* or *niravayavatvaśabdakoṣa* (II. 1. 26), *vikaraṇatva* (II. 1. 31), *prayojanavattva* (II. 1. 32), *karma-avibhāga* (II. 1. 35)—these are the arguments of a Smṛti work believing in *a-cosmism* or *avibhāga*.

Thus, the Yoga in “*Etena yogah pratyuktaḥ*” (Bra. Sū. II. 16. 3) seems to me to refer to the Yoga or Disinterested Action of the Gītā, which he rejects as a means to Mokṣa or Perfection. This suggestion of mine about the Yoga in Bra. Sū. II. 1. 3 is also proved by the Sūtrakāra’s reference to the *śuklā* and *kṛṣṇā gatis* for the Yogins (followers of Disinterested Action) mentioned in the eighth Adhyāya of the Gītā, which the Sūtrakāra does not admit as Śrauta but which he declares clearly to be only “*smārta*” “mentioned only in the Smṛti” in “*Yoginḥ prati ca smaryate smārte ca ete*”—Bra. Sū. IV. 2. 21.

'THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONCEPTION OF RĀDHĀ'

by

Dr. Rasik Vihari Joshi

M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt. (Paris)

Reader in Sanskrit, Delhi University.

I propose in this article to deal with the conception of Rādhā in its philosophical and historical perspectives. On one side, it has been a point of dispute for the scholars while on the other, the most vital point in the establishment of the Bhakti Cult in the philosophy of Vaiṣṇavism.

Philosophical background

In consistency with the conception of Bhagavān as adopted in the Vaiṣṇava philosophy, all the three—Sandhinī, Saṁvit and Hlādinī—Antaraṅga Śaktis have found greatest display in Śrīkṛṣṇa. Śrīkṛṣṇa is Bhagavān when viewed from the standpoint of substratum and he is himself styled as Mahālakṣmī when viewed with reference to the threefold attributes. In this way the conception of Mahālakṣmī is none but the conception of the Antraṅga Śaktis of Bhagavān, and Rādhā is mystically identified with Mahālakṣmī and thus with Śrīkṛṣṇa so far as the Hlādinī Śakti is concerned. But Rādhā is physically different from Śrīkṛṣṇa, in the sense, that Śrīkṛṣṇa manifested himself to perform the *līlās* in two different bodies.

The relation between Śrīkṛṣṇa and Rādhā or the associates of Bhagavān Śrīkṛṣṇa, is known as the principle of difference and non-difference in the terminology of Vaiṣṇava philosophy. It is difference because Rādhā or the associates are eternally identified with Śrīkṛṣṇa, and non-difference because of their being attributes of Śrīkṛṣṇa. The substance of this Hlādinī Śakti is known as Mahābhāva Mādana in the Ujjvala-nīlamanī of Rūpa Goswāmī. The Mahābhāva Mādana prevails only in Rādhā. Rādhā and the devotional love of Rādhā have been represented as Mahābhāva in the same work. Whenever a particular Bhāva develops, it turns into Mahābhāva and Rādhā being Mahābhāva herself is predominant among all the Gopīs. The word Rādhā is derived from the root √ *rādh* to worship and if we take the words Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa together, the etymology of the word Rādhā will indicate that Śrīkṛṣṇa is to be realised through constant devotion and worship.

Historical background

Interpretation of Rādhā as Luminary Entity

The interpretation of Rādhā as a luminary entity was traced by Śrī Jogesh Chandra Roy¹ and further developed by Dr. Ashoke Kumar

1. Jogesh Chandra Roy: *Vrajer Kṛṣṇa ke o Kabe Chilen: Bhāratavarṣa* (Bengali) B. S. 1340 (Magha).

Majumdar.¹ Śrī Roy held that the conception was not based on any idea of Cult or philosophy but on astronomical observations. He pointed out that the word Rādhā was a different nomenclature of the word Viśākhā. This idea was established on the authority of the Atharva Veda Samhitā.² In the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda the words Rādhā and Viśākhā are mentioned as stars. Anurādhā means one who follows Rādhā. Hence, Rādhā is a synonym of Viśākhā. It seems quite probable that formerly the name of the star was Rādhā. It is interesting to note that in the later Sanskrit literature Viśākhā is one of the most important friends of Rādhā. Besides, the names of certain stars also occur as the names of the friends of Rādhā viz., Anurādhā, Jyeṣṭhā and Citrā. It is more interesting to find Jiva Goswami referring to the word Tārakā (star) as a friend of Rādhā in the Śrīkṛṣṇasandarbhā. Similarly, we find, some more names in the Vaiṣṇava tradition after the stars i. e. Rohiṇī, the wife of Vasudeva, and Revatī, the wife of Baladeva. In the first verse of the Lalitavistara, Rādhā is styled as Tārā. (caru tārā, jayati jagadapūrvā kāpī Rādhābhīdhānā).

Mention of Rādhā in Ancient Sanskrit and Tamil Literature

(a) The earliest reference to Rādhā along with Śrīkṛṣṇa is available in the Prākṛita work Gāthā Saptaśatī of Hāla who reigned in the Pratiṣṭhānpura in the 1st or 2nd century A. D. The reference clearly indicates the existence of Rādhā along with Śrīkṛṣṇa. The poet says 'O Kṛṣṇa, by the breath of your mouth please remove the dust particles adhering to the cheeks of Rādhikā.'³

(b) Among the 4000 songs of the Viṣṇava Ālvars belonging to the 500 A. D. to 900 A. D., we come across a reference to the most beloved Gopī of Śrīkṛṣṇa, but the name of this Gopī is Nappinai and not Rādhā. Some scholars have identified Nappinai as mentioned in Tamil Classic Śīlappadikāram with Rādhā. The theory of this identification is based on the Tamil tradition Vṛṣavaśikaraṇam. According to this tradition some strong bulls are kept confined within a circle and are set to fight with the sound of drums. As soon as they are let loose, some of the heroes attempt to catch them. He, who succeeds in overpowering the bull, gets the bride in marriage. In Tamil tradition Śrīkṛṣṇa overpowers the strongest bull and marries the exceedingly beautiful Nappinai. On the other hand, in the Purāṇic tradition, Śrīkṛṣṇa marries Satyā having got command over seven bulls simultaneously. It appeals to reason that there is some relation between both these traditions.

Sculptural evidence

(a) No image or engraved figure having any connection with the life of the Śrīkṛṣṇa prior to 200 B. C. has been discovered so far. Two stone pillars have been found in Mandasore wherein the *līlā* of uplifting the hill Govardhana, the *līlā* of stealing the butter, the *līlā* of breaking the cart, the *līlā* of slaying the demon Dhenuka and the *līlā* of subduing the serpent Kāliya are engraved. The date of these images is between 400 A.D. to 500 A.D. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sāhni has referred to a fragment

1. Asoke Kumar Majumdar: A note on the development of Rādhā Cult: Annals of Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Vol. XXXVI, Paris III-IV, pp. 231-257, 1956.

2. Rādhā Viśākhā: Atharva Veda, XIX, 7.

3. Gāthā Saptaśatī, 1, 89.

of an engraved figure of Śrīkṛṣṇa's birth found in Māthurā. Similarly we come across an engraved figure of Śrīkṛṣṇa with the uplifted hill Govardhana at Mahabalipuram in 700 A. D. The reference clearly indicates that the legends of Śrīkṛṣṇa's *līlās* had already become very popular in 400 A. D.

(b) An image has been found in the excavations of Paharapur in Bengal wherein Śrīkṛṣṇa appears along with a Gopī. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee holds that the female is Rādhā. There is not the least doubt that the male figure is of Śrīkṛṣṇa but whether the female figure is of Rādhā, Satyabhāmā or Rukminī is rather doubtful. The study of the Premavilāsa and Bhaktiratnākara indicate that when Jāhnavī, the second wife of Nityānanda Prabhu went to Vṛndāvana and found that Rādhā was not worshipped there along with Śrīkṛṣṇa, she got prepared the images of Rādhā and sent them to Vṛndāvana. These very images of Rādhā were placed by the side of the images of Śrīkṛṣṇa by the order of Jīva Goswāmī.

Rādhā as depicted in the Purāṇas

The name of Rādhā does not occur anywhere in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa—the most authoritative treatise of the Vaiṣṇava philosophy. On this basis it has been held by the scholars that Rādhā is an interpolation of some later Vaiṣṇava sects. But it will be interesting to note that Rādhā has been indirectly referred to in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.¹ The word 'Rādhāsā' includes the word 'Rādhā' which is derived from the root *rādh* to worship and the word Rādhāsā is also derived from the root *rādh* to worship. This signifies that Śrīkṛṣṇa performs the *līlās* with Rādhā who has surpassed all by virtue of equality and superiority.

Ransacking the Paurāṇic literature, we find the first reference to the amorous sports of Śrīkṛṣṇa in the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa. The entire 28th chapter of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa also deals with the Rāsailā of Śrīkṛṣṇa. Both these Purāṇas make no reference to Rādhā. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa refers to a Gopī who is dearest to Śrīkṛṣṇa but she is not named as Rādhā. She is represented as Kṛtapuṇyā and is said to have originated from Śrīkṛṣṇa himself. We also find similar references in the Bhāgavata and Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa.

The Padma Purāṇa makes frequent references to Rādhā. In the Svargakhaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa, we come across 'Rādhāṣṭamivṛata'. The Vrata has been described as of such great importance for attaining the Bliss that even a prostitute Līlāvati entered Goloka by observing this Vrata. In this Purāṇa Rādhā is said to have born on the eighth day in the month of Bhādrapada in the bright fortnight during day time on the sacrificial altar of Vṛṣabhānu. We also find reference to the rituals regarding the worship of Rādhā and Dāmodara in the month of Kārtika. In the Uttarakhaṇḍa, Rādhā is represented as worshipping Yaśodā in the abode of Hari. In the 78th Chapter of Pātālakhaṇḍa Śrīkṛṣṇa is said to perform the *Līlās* in Goloka, a place resembling a lotus of 1000 leaves. On one of these leaves Rādhā is styled as Mūla-prakṛti and dearest to Śrīkṛṣṇa.

1. Nīrastasāmyātīśayena rādhāsā svadhāmani brahmaṇi raṁsyate namaḥ.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2, 4, 14.

It is noteworthy that Rādhā is not mentioned in the Vṛndāvana-līlā described in this Purāṇa. Thus, we find that in the Padma Purāṇa, Rādhā has been depicted throughout as an object of worship—as developed later in the Rādhā-kṛṣṇa Cult in the Nimbārka and Caitanya traditions. It is extremely unlikely that the author who refers to her and ascribes all spiritual values in the later portion of this work, would have totally ignored her mention in the earlier portion which deals with the life of Śrīkṛṣṇa e.g., Vṛndāvana-līlā. It, therefore, seems plausible that all these references are later insertions and do not represent the original form of Rādhā. These may have been inserted when the doctrine of Rādhā was widely preached in India. The date of the Padma Purāṇa is ascertained to fall in the 7th or 8th century A. D. Dr. R. C. Hazara holds some portions of the Pātāla khaṇḍa to belong to the period from 900 A. D. to 1400 A. D. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact date of these interpolations.

Some scattered references are also available in the Vāyu and Varāha Purāṇa but it is almost impossible to determine which particular reference is authoritative and which spurious. The description of the *līlās* of Śrīkṛṣṇa with Rādhā reached its climax in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa which is supposed to have been written in the 14th or 15th century A. D. Here, we come across the mention of the marriage of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa which was performed by Brahmā himself. It is furthermore strange to note that Śrīkṛṣṇa is stated to be a three years old child, while Rādhā is a grown up lady at the time of marriage.

In the Nāradapañcarātra, while giving the etymology of the word Rādhā, it is stated that by uttering the word 'Rā' a devotee attains devotion and salvation, and by uttering the word 'Dhā' he runs into the feet of Śrīkṛṣṇa.¹

The name of Rādhā as Rādhikā appears in the benedictory verse of the Venīsaṁhāra of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa—725 A. D., as the beloved of Śrīkṛṣṇa.² As Mammata—1100 A. D., Dhanañjaya—1000 A. D., Ānandavardhana—900 A. D., and Vāmana—800 A. D. cite verses from the Venīsaṁhāra, the date of the drama cannot be fixed after the 8th century A. D. We also find reference to Rādhā in the Gaṇḍavaho of Vākpati in the middle of 8th century A. D.

In the 9th century Ānandavardhana quotes a verse about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in his Dhvanyāloka in which Śrīkṛṣṇa asks some of his friends coming from Vṛndāvana whether the creepers at the bank of Yamunā are well where Rādhā and other cowherdresses are playing. At one more place an unknown writer states about Rādhā in the Dhvanyāloka that Rādhā having put up the clothes of Śrīkṛṣṇa and being excited, sang so melodiously a song of love-in-separation that even the aquatic creatures in the river Yamunā joined her. This verse is also found in the Vakroktijīvita of Kuntaka in 1000 A. D. The verse also occurs in the Sadukarṇāmṛta. It is ascribed to Aparājita in the Padyāvali, and is also quoted with a slight change in the Kāvyaṇuśāsana of Hemacandra in 1200 A. D.³

1. 'Rāśabdoccāraṇādbhakto bhaktim muktim ca yāti saḥ, dhāśabdoccāraṇenaiva dhāvatyeva Hareḥ padam'. Nāradapañcarātra 2, 7, 78,

2. 'Kamsadviṣo Rādhikāṁ' Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa : Venīsaṁhāra 1, 1.

3. cf. Dr. N. N. Lahari : The mention of Rādhā in ancient and mediaval literature of India : 'Suvarṇa Venika Samācāra, year 34, No. 6.

Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated writer of the Nalacampū in 915 A.D. represents Rādhā as an expert in Art and as being attracted towards Keśī. Ballabhadeva, a well-known commentator who flourished in the first half of 11th cent. in Kashmir, quotes a verse from some ancient work which describes Rādhā and Śrīkṛṣṇa.¹ Here Rādhā is very sad on account of her separation from Śrīkṛṣṇa and says that some one has taken away her Śrīkṛṣṇa. At this remark her friends ask if she was referring to Śrīkṛṣṇa (Madhusūdana). Rādhā replies 'No, no'—she was talking of her favourite clothes.

Somadeva, the author of the Yaśastilakacampū in 1000 A.D., mentions a lady Amṛtavatī who justifies that Rādhā was attracted towards Nārāyaṇa. The unknown editor of the Kāvīndravacanasaṃuccaya, an excellent collection of Sanskrit poems in 1000 A.D., refers to some verses which are related to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In These verses we not only come across the mention of Rādhā but also find all the important features of the later Vaiṣṇava poetry such as Bhāva, Rasa and Bhaṅgi. For instance, a dialogue between Rādhā and Śrīkṛṣṇa may be cited here : "Who is at the door? I am Hari. Then go to the garden. What is the necessity of a monkey here? O I am Kṛṣṇa. I am more afraid of a black monkey. No, I am Madhusūdana. Then please go to the blossomed creeper."² In another verse we find that Śrīkṛṣṇa has uplifted the hill Govardhana and Rādhā is gazing towards him, contemplating on his virtues.

Bhojarāja quotes a verse composed by Vaiddoka in his Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa in 1100 A.D. which refers to Rādhā.³ Rāmacandra, the disciple of Hemacandra along with his collaborator Guṇacandra, composed a dramatic treatise named Nāṭyadarpaṇa between 1100 A. D. and 1175 A.D. In this work we come across the mention of a drama named Rādhāvīpralambha written by Bhejjala. In case Bhejjala, the writer of the drama Rādhāvīpralambha, and Bhejjala mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentry on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata are identical, it becomes necessary to accept that the drama Rādhāvīpralambha was composed in 1000 A.D.

In the Bhāvaṇṇaśāstra of Śāradātanaya belonging to 1200 A.D., we find the reference to an ancient drama named 'Rāmā Rādhā' which is related to Rādhā. Kavikarṇapūra in his Alaṅkāraustubha frequently refers to a dramalet Kandarapamañjarī. It is noteworthy that the work is related to Rādhā. Similarly, the Nāṭyalakṣaṇaratnakoṣa of Sāgaranandī in 1300 A.D., we find the mention of Rādhā as the name of a drama belonging to the Vithī class. In the Prākṛtakalpataru of Rāmacandra Śarmā, two Apabhraṃśa poems are related to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Finally, Jayadeva describes the amorous sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in his Gītagovinda in 1200 A.D.⁴ In the Gītagovinda Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa have been represented as ordinary man and woman.

1. Vallabhadeva's commentary on Śīsupālavadha 4, 35.

2. 'Itthaṃ nirvacanikṛto dayitayā hrīṇo Hariḥ pātū vaḥ', Shashibhusana Dasgupta : 'Rādhā kā kramavikāśa' p. 121.

3. 'Kānakaniḥ Rādhāpayodharamaṇḍale' Sarasv atikaṇṭhābharaṇa quoted in Kāvīndravacanasaṃuccaya, 49.

4. Jayadeva was the royal poet of Rājā Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal who reigned in 1200 A.D.

It may be noted that Rādhā is considered as the wife of Śrīkṛṣṇa in the Nimbārka school of Vaiṣṇavism while as a Parakiyā in the Caitanya Cult. Both these sects wielded such an extraordinary influence in imbibing the conception of Rādhā in the social and religious life of India that today one cannot imagine Śrīkṛṣṇa without Rādhā.

In the historical perspective, therefore, we find the original reference to Rādhā as only a luminary entity. The name of Rādhā was in the beginning not associated with that of Kṛṣṇa. The earlier references to Rādhā alongwith Śrīkṛṣṇa, treat Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as ordinary human beings who are later on depicted as in love with each other. Simultaneously with it another trend is also traceable in literature which also makes mention of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa together, but treats them on the spiritual plane much above the ordinary human beings. This later trend of thought has prevailed in the Sanskrit literature.

TANTRA AND ITS PHILOSOPHY

Sm. Bina Chakravarti, M.A., Calcutta.

“तन्यते विस्तार्यते ज्ञानमनेनेति तन्त्रम्”

‘Tantra’ is that Sāstra by which our knowledge advances. The term Tantra admits of different meanings. Any systematised work may be designated by this comprehensive term. But in this paper I will be dealing briefly only with Tantra Sāstra; the scripture of the orthodox Sanātānists, containing the teachings of Lord Śiva revealed to his consort Pārvatī, and the teachings of the latter communicated to the former.

The Tantra is very highly spoken of in the Śāstrās. It is said that all other Śāstras merely aim at intellectual delectation. They do not give us any visible results, but on the other hand, sciences like Medicine, Astrology and Tantra prove themselves effective at every step.

The central theme of Tantra is—‘Practise and you will be convinced?’ Just as the test of medicine is that it cures the illness, similarly the test of Tantra is that it gives superhuman power. Tantra is a practical exposition and application of Vedānta. It is a Sādhana-Śāstra, the practical scripture prescribing the means by which the happiness, the quest of mankind may be obtained. It also teaches how man by the worship of Him in the form of Power, Śakti, and by the practice of the discipline prescribed, may attain Divinity and salvation.

The means and ways for realising the goal of Tāntrika worship appears to be comparatively easy, agreeable and at the same time beneficial to the worshipper. The Tantra declares—eat, drink, enjoy and worship and you will have your salvation. Practise according to the instruction of your spiritual teacher and you will have *Siddhi*. It claims to teach how to enjoy without attachment and how to obtain salvation living in the midst of enjoyments. It further declares that though the Tāntrika form of worship appears to be easy, yet in fact it is the most difficult of all. To undertake Tāntrika form of Sādhana is very difficult. It is more difficult than the crossing of the sharp edge of a sword or the embracing a tiger or catching a serpent. But this great science is open to all for study whether rich or poor, high or low in the eyes of society. Women are also allowed to study this science.

There are sufficient reasons to believe that the five deities, (Pañca-Devatās), Śakti, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa belong to a hoary antiquity. Some of these deities were quite well known in the R̥gvedic age. These five deities have occupied a very prominent place in the Tantra religion. So there are mainly five schools of Tantra—‘Śākta’, ‘Śaiva’, ‘Vaiṣṇava’, ‘Saura’ and ‘Gāṇapatya’. These schools surely derive their theme from the five principle deities, referred to above. It may be mentioned here that out of these five schools, three schools—Śākta, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava are very important and natural. These three schools have produced a vast literature.

The principal doctrines and dogmas of Tantra appear in some form or other in almost all the ancient and modern religions of the world. The *Bija-mantras* of the Tantra are found in the Vedic, Paurāṇic and many other religions in India and elsewhere. Even some of the Muslim devotees perform their religious duties by muttering the words *Karīm*—God who is bountiful, *Rahīm*—God who is merciful and *Kalīm*, one who speaks to God on our behalf. These words have a very close relation to the Tāntrika mantras. And we may even say that these are rather changed forms of the mantras *Kṛīm*, *Hṛīm*, and *Klīm*. The phonetic changes which are found in *Karīm* from *Kṛīm* or in *Rahīm* from *Hṛīm* and in *Kalīm* from *Klīm* can be explained from the simple philological process of Epenthesis, *Svarabhakti* and metathesis, *Varṇaviṇyaya*.

The Śākta school mainly includes the deities:—

काली तारा महाविद्या षोडशी भुवनेश्वरी ।
भैरवी द्विन्नमस्ता च विद्या धूमावती तथा ।
बगला सिद्धविद्या च मातङ्गी कमलात्मिका ॥

In spite of these various deities, the idea of one God is predominant in the whole of Śākta school.

Self-realisation is very important in Tāntrika form of worship. The worshipper here has to raise himself to the level of divinity. He has to realise the unity between *Ātmā* and Śakti or supreme knowledge. We may refer here to the Gandharva Tantra—

देव एव यजेद् देवं नादेवो देवमर्चयेत् ।

Very briefly we will be examining here how there is a very close relation of the Tantras with some of the Tantras of the Bauddhas and the Jainas. For instance, Gaṇapati, Mahākāla, Kālī, and some other deities too are found in Bauddha form of Tāntrika religion. The deities like—Vajra Vārāhī and Vajra Yoginī of the Bauddhas have a close resemblance respectively with Kālī and Tārā of the Brāhmaṇika Tantra deities like Heruka; Chāṇdamahā-roṣaṇa Hālāhala of the Bauddhas have similarity with Bhairava or Śiva of the Brāhmaṇika Tantra. Similarly some of the Tāntrika deities are found in somewhat changed form in the Jaina pantheon. Deities like Mahākāla, Kālī, Śyāmā and Tārā are found in the Jaina Tantras in different forms.

Let us here very briefly examine the similarities of Kālī and Tārā of the Brāhmaṇika Tantra with the Tāntrika deities of the Bauddhas and the Jainas. We find that Tārā of Tantra is an awe-inspiring deity. She wears a garland of snakes. She has a fearful face with an outcoming tongue. Her hair is tied up on her head in an awful manner. Similarly, like this we find Mahā-cīna-Tārā, a Bauddha Tāntrika deity, who is identical in form and nature with Tārā of Tantra. We can refer here to the Dhyāna of Tārā like—

प्रत्यलीढपदां घोरां मुण्डमालाप्रलम्बिताम्, etc.

Sādhana-mālā, Vol. I, Sādhana No. 101.

In the Jaina religion we come across one deity as Yakṣiṇī. She is described as waiting upon the religious chiefs who are known as Tīrthaṇ-

karas. All the Tīrthaṅkaras are described as having one Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī to look after them. The deity known as Sūtārā is described as one of the Yakṣiṇīs. She is described as having a bull as her favourite animal and she does not appear to be different from Tārā of the Brāhmaṇika Tantrā. This deity is described as the consort of Śiva known as Vṛṣabha-Vāhanā. Sūtārā is described by the Jains as—

सुतारा देवी गौरवर्णा वृषभवाहना चतुर्भुजा, etc.

While coming to the great deity Kālī we find that the Bauddhas also worship her along with Mahākālā as do the Sanātānists. We may here refer to Sādhana-mālā, Vol. II, Sādhana No. 312 as—

कालिका कृष्णवर्णा द्विभुजा, etc.

In Tantra Kālī generally goes by the name Śyāmā. The Jains too have got one deity as Śyāmā-Devī, who is very much identical with Kālī of the Sanātānists. Śyāmā is described by the Bauddhas as—

श्यामादेवी श्यामवर्णा, etc.

Now, while recapitulating very briefly we find that the schools of Tantra have given a very high place to their deities. Here realisation comes through the *upāsana* of the deities. The worshipper should be of divine character, so that he may find out similarity between himself and the Divinity to attain *Siddhi*. While coming to Bauddha and Jaina religion we find that these too aim at the same goal like that of Tantra but in a slightly different way. The Bauddhas also aim at attaining *Prajñāpāramitā*, that is Divinity. Deities here are described only as means for knowing *Prajñāpāramitā*. Moreover, Bauddhas have shown a hatred towards the Vedic deities. For example, Mārīca and several other Bauddha deities are described in the Sādhana-mālā as carrying the head of Brahmā in their hands. Another deity Vajra-jvālānālārka is described as having trampled under his foot both Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī as—

सपत्नीकं विष्णुम्, etc., Sādhanamālā Vol. II, Sādhana No. 263.

So the Bauddhas did not show real respect to the Vedic deities and also not to the deities found in their own religion. The Jains too, just like the Bauddhas have not given the supreme place to their deities. But Tantra always believes in the conception of the highest deity. This highest deity is worshipped as mother by all her devotees, because in this aspect God is active and produces, nourishes and maintains all. Motherly form is attributed to the deity only for worship, otherwise Tantra believes in the neutrality of God. It is said that God is neither male nor female because God is beyond sex.

नेयं योषित् न च पुमान् न षण्डो न जडः स्मृतः ।

नैव स्त्री न पुमानेष न चैवायं नपुंसकः । (श्वेताश्वतर)

For the benefit and convenience of the devotees the supreme power assumes different forms.

Cf. साधकानां हितार्थाय अरूपा रूपधारिणी ।

Brahman is never different from Śakti or Power. He is rather identified with his eternal and Pramaeval Force as—

शिवाभिन्ना शिवङ्करी ।

Some say that the Tāntrika religion is anti-Vedic. But Kullūka Bhaṭṭa remarks:—

श्रुतिश्च द्विविधवैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च ।

The tradition tells us that the Tantra of the Sanātānists belongs to the Saubhāgya Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda. We have also got many Tāntrika Upaniṣads. From all this information our conclusion is that the Tantra of the Sanātānists is very ancient and it is not at all anti-Vedic. On the other hand, it is a further development of Vedic religion.

To sum up, Tāntrika philosophy asserts that God is omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent. To realise God or to obtain salvation, Karma or action is needed. Karma and Guṇa both are equally needed in Tāntrika form of worship. Jñāna is the final goal and Karma is the means. Tāntrika religion is just like the universal religion. So Tantra can also claim to become the religion of the world for its conception of one God. The universal brother-hood is one of the objects of the Tāntrika religion. So it is rightly said in the Śāstra—

माता च पार्वती देवी
पिता देवो महेश्वरः ।
बान्धवाः शिवभक्ताश्च
स्वदेशो भुवनत्रयम् ॥

VEDIC OSTEOLOGY

(Prof. Dr. V. W. Karambelkar, Nagpur)

Atharvan Anatomy

§ (42) Bones in the AV. Nārāyaṇa is the author of the Atharvan hymn X. 2 which takes us back to that period of pre-historic or semi-mythical age of the 'medicine-men' who combined the functions of priest and physician. Nārāyaṇa is the representative of this Indian Medical Tradition. He is also the author of the famous "Puruṣa Sūkta" (R.V. X. 90=AV. XIX. 6), which contains many anatomical references. To him are also ascribed many ancient medical charms. The hymn X. 2. 1-8 is reported here to show how Atharvan mentioned bones of human body :—

(X. 2)

(Nārāyaṇaḥ; Pārṣṇī Sūktam; Anuṣṭubh 1-4; 7, 8; Triṣṭubh 6, Jagatī.

केन पाष्णीं आभृते पुरुषस्य केन मांसं संभृतं केन गुल्फौ ।
 केनाङ्गुलीः पेशनीः केन खानि केनोच्छ्रलङ्खौ मध्यतः कः प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥१॥
 कस्मान्नु गुल्फावधरावकुण्वन्, अण्ठीवन्तौ उत्तरौ पुरुषस्य ।
 जङ्घे निऋत्य न्यऽदधुः क्वऽस्वित्, जानुनोः सन्धी क उ तच्चिकेत ॥२॥
 चतुष्टयं युज्यते संहितान्तं जानुभ्यामूर्ध्वं शिथिरं कवन्धम् ।
 श्रोणी यदूरु क उ तज्जजान याभ्यां कुसिन्धं सुदृढं वभूव ॥३॥
 कति देवाः कतमे त आसन् य उरौ ग्रीवाश्चिक्युः पुरुषस्य ।
 कति स्तनौ व्यऽदधुः कः कफोडौ कति स्कन्धान् कति पृष्टोरचिन्वन् ॥४॥
 को अस्य बाहू समभरद्वीर्यं ऽकरवादिति ।
 अंसौ को अस्य तददेवः कुसिन्धे अध्या दधौ ॥५॥
 कः सप्त खानि वि ततर्द शीर्षणि कर्णाविमौ नासिके चक्षणी मुखम् ।
 येषां पुरुषा विजयस्य महानि चतुष्पादो द्विपदो यन्ति यामम् ॥६॥
 हन्वोर्हि जिह्वामदश्वात्पुरुचोमथा महीमधि शिश्राय वाचम् ।
 स आ वरीवर्ति भुवनेष्वन्तरपो वसानः क उ तच्चिकेत ॥७॥
 मस्तिष्कमस्य यतमो ललाटं ककाटिकां प्रथमो या कपालम् ।
 चित्वा चित्यं हन्वोः पुरुषस्य दिवं रुरोह कतमः स देवः ॥८॥

- (1) *Pārṣṇī*—(two) heels of the feet. Charaka counts one Pārṣṇī for each foot.
- (2) *Gulphau*—(two) ankle bones. There are four Gulphas (according to Charaka, Suśruta and Kāśyapa).
- (3) *Aṅgulīḥ*—(plural) digits. There are sixty digits (Cha. Suś.).
- (4) *Ucchlaṅkhau*—(toe) Metacarpal or Metatarsal bones of hands and feet. "Pāṇipādaśalākāḥ" are twenty (Cha.).

- (5) *Pratiṣṭhā*—(one) base. “Pāṇipādaśalākādhiṣṭhāna” (Cha.) ; “Sthāna” (Yājñavalkya) ; “Kūrcha” (Suśruta who also gives “Tala”). In the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā both “Adhiṣṭhāna” and “Kūrcha” are found side by side¹.
- (6) *Aṣṭhivāntau*—(two) knee-caps; (Patella)².
- (7) *Jāṅghe*—(two shanks “चत्वार्यस्थीनि जङ्घयोः” Kāśyapa. The tibia and the fibula in the leg. (Charaka, Suśruta and Vāgbhata describe this organ as consisting of two bones).
“चतुष्टयं युज्यते संहितान्तम्”—four-fold frame having its ends connected together—is the exact description.
- (8) *Jānunoh sandhī*—(two) knee-joints.
- (9) *Śronī*—(two) pelvic cavity.
- (10) *Ūrū*—(two) thigh-bones ; one] in each leg (Cha., Suś., Vāg.)
“Ūrunalaka”—Charaka.
- (11) *Uraḥ*—(one) breast-bone. There are 14 bones in the breast according to Charaka but there are 8 bones in the breast according to Suśruta and Vāgbhat.
- (12) *Grīvāḥ*—(many) wind-pipe. It is composed of four parts but it is counted as one bone. “Jatru”—Charaka; “Kaṇṭha nāḍī”—Suśruta³.
- (13) *Stanau*—(two) breast. “पार्श्वयोः चतुर्विंशतिः पार्श्वयोः तावन्ति चैव स्थालकानि तावन्ति चैव स्थालकावुदानि” । “There are 24 ribs; Suśruta speaks of thirty six.
- (14) *Kaphodau*—(two) shoulder blades (scapula) ; “Aṁsaphalaka” Charaka and Kāśyapa.
- (15) *Skandham*—(many) shoulder bones. There are 15 bones in neck according to Charaka and 9, according to Suśruta.
- (16) *Prṣṭhiḥ*—(many) back-bone.
- (17) *Aṁsau*—(two) collar-bones. “Akṣaka”—Cha. Suś.
- (18) *Lalāṭam*—(one) brow—two superciliary ridges at eye-brow.
- (19) *Kakāṭikā*—(one) central facial bone.
- (20) *Kapālam*—Cranium with temples. “चत्वारि शिरः कपालानि” Charaka; “शिरसि षट्” Suśruta.

1. Kāśyapa Saṁhitā p. 44.

2. Hoernle considers them as synonymous with Jānu but X. 2.2 mentions them separately. Jānvasthīni and Jānukapāiikā are given separately in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā.

3. “तस्मादिमा उभयत्र पार्श्वो बद्धाः कीकसौ च जत्र” । Śat. Brāh.*

- (21) *Chityam Hanvoḥ*—(one) the pile of the jaw.

“एकं हन्वस्थि, द्वे हनुमूलबन्धने” Charaka;

“हन्वोद्वे” Suśruta.

It will be seen from the above that the AV. knows all the important bones of the body. It also mentions:—

- (22) *Kīkasāḥ*—Spinal column (probably cervical portion of the vertebral column.)
- (23) *Anūkyā*—Thoracic portions of spine (II. 32. 2).

“Such a detailed knowledge of bones necessarily presupposes a careful study of human skeleton by the Vedic sages. Whether that study was made by some form of dissection of dead or decayed body, cannot be definitely known. But from the study and the detailed knowledge of the human bones (and of the animal bones also) as reflected in AV. X. 2 we cannot deny that the Vedic seers knew dissection also. AV. X. 9 presupposes some kind of dissection of a cow. Suśruta knew it definitely (III. 5).¹

§ (43) Dr. Hoernle's Contention. Dr. Hoernle in his “Studies in the Ancient Indian Medicine” has given too much importance to the difference of opinion with regard to the number of bones in Charaka and Suśruta. The main differences in Charaka and Suśruta in matters of anatomy (especially the bony system) are :—

(i) *Number of bones in the breast*—Charaka counts them as 14 while Suśruta as 8 only.

(ii) *Number of ribs*—Charaka counts them as 24 while Suśruta as 36.

(iii) *Number of bones in the neck*—Charaka counts 15 while Suśruta 9.

(iv) *Number of bones in the head*—Charaka counts 4; Suśruta 6.

(v) *Number of bones in the chin*—Charaka counts 1; Suśruta 2.

(vi) Again, Charaka and Suśruta differ on the point of the “Base” for the digits and metacarpal and Metatarsal bones of hands and feet. Such a base is called “Pratiṣṭhā” in the AV; “Adhiṣṭhāna” in Charaka “Sthāna” in the Yājñyavalkya Smṛti;—all these terms being akin. But the term used by Suśruta is “Kūrcha” which is altogether new.

(vii) Again, Charaka counts one bone—sacrum and coccyx and as forming the part of the vertebral column while Suśruta considers them as two bones and as separate from vertebral column.

(viii) Again, Suśruta says that in the human body there are in all

1. Jolly. “Indian Medicine” pp. 66-67.

300 bones: while Charaka and his followers hold them to be 360. The exact statement of Suśruta is like this : (Suśruta Saṁhitā III. 5. 18)—

“त्रीणि सषष्ट्यान्यस्थिशतानि वेदवादिनो भाषन्ते । शल्यतन्त्रे तु त्रीण्येव शतानि ॥

(ix) Again, “A really important circumstance is that the Atharvic system shares with the Charakiyan one of the most striking points in which the latter differs from the system of Suśruta, viz. the assumption of the central facial bone in the structure of the skull.”¹

From these and from such other points and especially from the peculiar phrase “Vedavādinah” in the quotation from Suśruta Dr. Hoernle has come to the conclusion that Suśruta represented a medical tradition different from that followed by Charaka.

Charaka is in general agreement with the Atharva-vedic ideas which are expounded by the Ātreya school of Medicine. The “Vedavādinah” referred to by Suśruta are clearly Charaka and his followers, for Charaka holds : “त्रीणि सषष्टीनि शतान्यस्थनां सह दन्तनखेन”² (Charaka IV. 7. 6; Vāgbhāṭa Aṣṭ. Saṁ. II. 5; Aṣṭ. Hṛd. II. 3). This is exactly the view of the Vedic tradition which has come down through the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X. 5. 4. 12; XI. 3. 2. 3. 4; XII. 2. 4. 9-14; VIII. 6. 2. 7 and 10); Agni Purāṇa; Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa; Viṣṇu Smṛti; Yājñavalkya Smṛti (IV. 83). All these authorities agree on the point of total number of bones,

“तथास्थनां च सह षष्ट्या शतत्रयम् ।”

The Kāśyapa Saṁhitā too, states—

“अथ कलियुगे प्रश्रुतिपिहितं संहननं शरीरमुत्पद्यते । तत्र षष्टिश्च त्रीणि चास्थिशतानि ॥

All these are, therefore, “Vedavādinah” of Suśruta because they share the Atharva-vedic views on anatomy and are orthodox as they derive the validity of their views from the Veda.

1. Dr. Hoernle, “Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine” p. 113.

2. Teeth 32,	Lower part of temple 2,
Roots of teeth 32,	Palate 2,
Nails 20,	Hips 2,
Hands and feet 20,	Public bone 1,
Fingers and toes 60,	Upper coccyx 1,
Heels 2,	Lower coccyx 1,
Lower part of palm 2,	Back 35,
Hand-joints 4,	Neck 15,
Foot-ankle 4,	Clavicle 2,
Elbow 4,	Chin 1,
Lower part of thigh 4,	Lower jaw-bone 2,
Knee 2,	Forehead 2,
Bend of Knee 2,	Eyes 2,
Upper part of thigh 2,	Cheeks 2,
Arm and Shoulders 2,	Nasal bones 3,
Ribs and Spine 72,	Temple 2,
Breast 17;	Head 4.

Total no. of bones 360

But from the quotation of Suśruta, it must be noted that he does not refer to the "Vedavādinah" with disrespect. He mentions only the difference between the total number of bones as counted by the followers of the traditional Vedic view and by the special branch of surgery ("Śalyatāntre tu"). And he has himself accepted elsewhere (I. 1. 5) that the entire Āyurveda is the Upāṅga of the Atharva-veda and his Saṁhitā forms a part of the Āyurveda. Whatever minor differences there are, with reference to the method of counting of bones between Charaka and Suśruta, can be justified by holding that Charaka was more concerned with "Kāyachikitsā", general treatment of diseases while Suśruta was more particular because he was dealing with surgery. From surgical point of view, he might have reduced the total number of bones. Still it is significant that he knows the number 360 and admits only 300 as the total number required for surgical purposes. The statements of Charaka and Suśruta about the bones being 300 plus 60 also point out that the first number was for surgical requirements and the second—60, was added with an eye on general purposes. Charaka, Suśruta and Kāśyapa were all alike conscious of this fact and hence there is no necessity to seek another medical school or tradition for Suśruta, only for the sake of a few differences, howsoever important they might have been. Lastly the interpretation of the Atharvan passage in which the number of bones is given, is not so explicit.

§ (44) The Number of Bones in the AV. It seems that the AV. has mentioned the number of bones in human body to be 360. but in such a fashion that it is very difficult to know it. None of the previous interpreters has interpreted the passage X. 8. 4=RV. I. 164. 48 (with a different latter half):—

द्वादश प्रशयश्चक्रमेकं त्रीणि नभ्यानि क उ तच्चिकेत ।
तत्राहतास्त्रीणि शतानि शङ्खवः षष्टिश्च खीला अविचचाला ये ॥

"Twelve felloes, one wheel, three naves—who understands that ? Therein are inserted three hundred and sixty pins and pegs that are immovable", as referring to the bones in human body. The metaphor in the stanza is usually understood as describing the "year" (Chakra) with its three seasons (Nabhyāni), (twelve months) (Pradhayah), 360 days (Saṅkavaḥ, Kilāḥ). But there is nothing that can prohibit the passage from referring to the human body (chakra), with its three main parts (head, trunk and legs—moving in the sky and hence called Nabhyāni), twelve organs (-eyes, ears, tongue, nose, hands, feet, rectum and sexual organ—Pradhayah), 300 "Saṅku-like bones" and 60 "Kila-like bones".

Here we get a separate figure of 300 and another of 60 which is exactly the position taken by Charaka and Kāśyapa. Perhaps the 300 bones, accepted by Suśruta, as bones proper in estimation of surgeon were separately mentioned by the Atharvan. And the other number of sixty bones was mentioned only with regard to the general view, which were not as a matter of fact bones for a surgeon's knife. Or perhaps Khila bones are sixty and they are so many joints. The passage cited above is undoubtedly a problematic one, but if our interpretation

is allowed, we are in a position to trace the source of the number 300 with regard to bones, accepted by Suśruta and also the number 360 accepted by Charaka and Kāśyapa. Our interpretation of the passage can be correct for the word "Chakra" appearing here also appears in X. 2. 31 and in the later Tantric literature as referring to the "nerve-centres of the body".

§ (45) Suśruta does not belong to a different Tradition. In view of the references to the Suśruta Samhitā in the later literature and from the devotion of Suśruta to the authority of the Atharvan, we are unable to accept the position that he belonged to a tradition different from that of Charaka.

(i) Suśruta himself admits that the Ayurveda whose surgical branch he was expounding, is derived from the AV.

(ii) He accepts technical terms, names of diseases, method of treatment which are current in the tradition. Some of the Atharvan terms such as "Harimā=Halimaka; "Apachit=Apachī" show direct contact between the AV. and the Suśruta Samhitā.

(iii) Nowhere is to be found any reference to support the contention that Suśruta and Charaka belonged to different medical traditions. On the other hand it is generally accepted that these two authors summarised the two different branches of the same Āyurveda.

(iv) Dhanvantari and Suśruta are both counted among the traditional teachers of Āyurveda (cf. Charak VI. 13. 184 ff.).

(v) The Agni Purāṇa accepted on all hands as a representative of the orthodox system, states :

अग्निश्वाच— 'आयुर्वेदं प्रवक्ष्यामि सुश्रुताय यमब्रवीत् ।
देवो धन्वन्तरिः सारं मृतसजीवनीकरम् ॥
and (Chapter 279. 1)

धन्वन्तरिश्वाच— 'सिद्धयोगान्पुनर्वक्ष्ये मृतसजीवनीकरान् ।
आत्रेयमाषितान्दिव्यान् सर्वव्याधिविमर्दनान् ॥
(Chapter 285. 1)¹

and shows very clearly, that the system of Charaka (i.e. of Ātreya Punarvasu) and of Suśruta (i.e. of Dhanvantari) did not come from different sources but had a common origin—the Āyurveda coming down from the Vedas and even from before the Vedas.

(vi) Further, Jivaka studied medicine in Taxila University under Ātreya and he was a surgeon (primarily) of great repute.²

1. Agni Purāṇa Chapter 285. 77 also.

2. Rockhill, "Life of Buddha". p. 65.

(vii) Both the Charaka and the Suśruta Samhitās are Tantras which is a peculiar word applied to ancient Samhitās¹ of Āyurveda. From such a use of the word, it seems possible that the ancient Vedic literature bearing on medicine was in vogue under the general name Āyurveda and known diversely as Veda, Upaveda, Upāṅga and Vedāṅga, and was made use of by medicine-men of the Vedic and the post-vedic ages. Later on this Vedic literature on medicine was superseded by the Tantras of Agniveśya, Bheda, Hārta and others. This means that the Vedic literature on medicine was arranged by these sages (Tantra from √ tan=to arrange) and was amplified by their own knowledge and experience. These Tantras then came to be regarded as Āyurveda. Again after a lapse of time Charaka and Suśruta redacted the ancient Tantras which existed before them. Now we look upon the Charaka and Suśruta Samhitās as the Āyurveda. Thus Āyurveda or the Indian Medical Tradition is continuous and comes down to us through the Vedas, the now unrecovered Tantras and the Samhita of Charaka and Suśruta.

1. अथ भोलादयश्चक्रुः स्वं स्वं तन्त्रं कृतानि च ।
 श्रावयामासुरात्रेयं सर्षिसंघं सुमेधसः ॥ चरक. I. 1.33
 तानि चानुमतान्येषां तन्त्राणि परमर्षिभिः ।
 भवाय भूतसंघानां प्रतिष्ठां भुवि लेभिरे ॥ चरक I 1.40.
 “अष्टस्वपि चायुर्वेदतन्त्रेषु एतदेवमधिकमभिमतम् । आशुक्रियाकरणाद्यन्त्रशस्त्राक्षराभि-
 प्रणिधानात् सर्वतन्त्रसामान्याच्च । I. 1.18 (सुश्रुत)
 Also ten names—कुमारतन्त्र, शालाक्यतन्त्र, रसायनतन्त्र and “गुर्वीशालाभा-
 नन्तरमेतत्तन्त्रकरणम्”—आयुर्वेददीपिका I' 1. 1,

जन्म-संस्कार के लोकाचार और उनसे सम्बन्धित शब्दावली (ब्रज-कोर-क्षेत्र की बोली के आधार पर)

डॉ० अम्बाप्रसाद सुमन
अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय, अलीगढ़

ब्रज भाषा अर्थात् ब्रज की बोली ही अपनी व्यापकता एवं भावाभिव्यंजना की सबलता के कारण 'ब्रजभाषा' नाम की अधिकारिणी हुई। हिन्दी का मध्यकालीन साहित्य तो प्रायः ब्रजभाषा में ही लिखा गया। इस भाषा का क्षेत्र भी बड़ा विस्तृत है। यदि हम मथुरा को केन्द्र मानकर ब्रजभाषा की सीमाएँ निर्धारित करें तो दक्षिण में आज भी यह भाषा आगरा, भरतपुर के अधिकांश भाग, धौलपुर, करौली, ग्वालियर के पश्चिमी भाग तथा जयपुर के पूर्वी भाग में बोली जाती है। उत्तर की दिशा में यह गुड़गाँवा के पूर्वी भाग में बोली जाती है। उत्तरी-पूर्वी दुआवे में यह बुलन्दशहर, अलीगढ़, एटा, और मैनपुरी में तथा गंगापार करके कुछ-कुछ बदायूँ, बरेली और नैनी ताल की तराई में भी बोली जाती है। ब्रजभाषा का कुल क्षेत्रफल २७ हजार वर्गमील है और बोलने वालों की संख्या ७९ लाख के लगभग है।

उपर्युक्त ब्रजभाषा-क्षेत्र में ब्रज की बोलियों के हमें कई रूप सुनने में आते हैं। भाषा के पंडितों ने ब्रजभाषा की उन बोलियों को पाँच भागों में विभक्त करके उनका नामकरण इस प्रकार किया है—

(१) आदर्श ब्रज बोली—यह अलीगढ़, मथुरा और पश्चिमी आगरे में बोली जाती है। ग्रियर्सन महोदय ने अलीगढ़ की बोली को स्टैंडर्ड ब्रजभाषा बताया है। साहित्यिक हिन्दी की क्रिया 'आता है' के लिए त० कोल में 'आवतवै' बोला जाता है। यही त० खैर में 'आवै' हो जाता है।

(२) अन्तर्वेदी ब्रज बोली—एटा, मैनपुरी के गाँवों में इस बोली का रूप सुना जा सकता है। वास्तव में कन्नौजी से गले मिलने वाली ब्रज-बोली अन्तर्वेदी कहाती है। आदर्श ब्रज का भूतकालिक 'औ' अन्तर्वेदीके 'ओ' में बदल जाता है। फिर यही 'ओकारान्तता' कन्नौजी की क्रियाओं तथा संज्ञाओं में स्पष्ट रूपेण सुनाई पड़ती है। अलीगढ़ जिले की कोल में, हाथरस तथा मथुरा तहसीलों के गाँवों में कहा जाता है—

“गु छोटी छोरा चलौ गौ”—(त. कोल में) और “गु छोटी छोरा चलयौ गयौ।”—(हाथरस तथा मथुरा तहसील में)। यही वाक्य जिला एटा के उन गाँवों में, जो तहसील सिकंदराराऊ की सीमा को स्पर्श करते हैं, इस रूप में सुनने को मिलता है कि—“बो छोटी छोरा चलो गओ।” जिला बदायूँ में भी 'आना' 'जाना' की धातु के भूतकालिक रूप 'आओ' 'गओ' ही सुनने में आते हैं। इतना ही नहीं सर्वनाम शब्दों में भी पर्याप्त अन्तर सुनाई पड़ता है। अलीगढ़ की कोल तहसील में यदि एक स्त्री 'मोकूँ' या 'मोकौँ' (=मुझको) बोलती है तो कासगंज तहसील की स्त्री उसका उच्चारण 'मोको' करेगी। केलोंग महोदय ने अपनी व्याकरण की पुस्तक—'ग्रामर ऑफ दी हिन्दी लैंग्वेज'—में 'था' के लिए ब्रजभाषा रूप 'हो,

और कन्नौजी रूप 'हतो' लिखा है। यदि ब्रज-क्षेत्र में घूमकर बोली का अध्ययन किया जाय तो वस्तु-स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में बहुत-सी नई बातें मालूम पड़ेंगी। अलीगढ़ जिले की कोल, हाथरस आदि तहसीलों में आज भी दोनों रूप प्रयुक्त होते हैं जैसे 'में वहाँ था' के लिए ब्रजभाषा-रूप होगा—“हूँ हवाँ हतो” अथवा “हूँ हवाँ हो।” आज के अनुसंधित्सुओं को ब्रजभाषा-क्षेत्र का नये सिरे से सर्वेक्षण करना चाहिए।

- (३) सिकरवाड़ी नाम की ब्रजबोली ग्वालियर के उत्तर-पूर्व में बोली जाती है।
- (४) जादोवाटी नाम की जनपदीय ब्रजभाषा करौली के आस-पास बोली जाती है।
- (५) डाँगी नाम की ब्रज-बोली ने भरतपुरके क्षेत्र में अपना प्रभुत्व स्थापित कर रखा है। ये उपर्युक्त पाँचों ब्रजबोलियाँ ब्रजभाषा के ही अन्तर्गत मानी जाती हैं।

सूर आदि अष्ट-छाप के कवियों के काव्यों में प्रधान रूप से औकारान्तता ही दृष्टिगोचर होती है। अलीगढ़-मथुरा की ब्रजभाषा में 'खाना', 'आना' आदि की धातुओं के भूतकालिक एक वचन रूप 'खायो', 'आयो' प्रचलित है। सूर के 'सूरसागर' की भाषा भी यही है जैसे—“ब्रज पर सजि पावस दल आयो”। भाषा की वास्तविक प्रकृति उसके क्रियारूपों से ही मालूम पड़ती है। यदि 'सूरसागर' के संपादन में कहीं 'खायो' और कहीं 'खायो' लिखा गया मिलता है तो भाषा की दृष्टि से आज उसके संपादन का कार्य नये सिरे से होना चाहिए और उसकी मुद्रित तथा अमुद्रित सभी प्रतियों को एकत्र करके संपूर्ण पाठ-भेद देने चाहिए। तब कहीं हम सूर की भाषा के सच्चे स्वरूप से पूर्ण परिचय प्राप्त कर सकेंगे। हर्ष का विषय है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार सूरदास के काव्यग्रन्थों की शब्दानुक्रमणी अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत-हिन्दी-विभागाध्यक्ष प्रो० हरवंशलाल शर्मा एम. ए., डी. लिट्. की देख-रेख में तैयार करा रही है, और इसी विश्वविद्यालय में सूफी कवियों के प्रेम-काव्यों का तथा अमीर खुसरो की कृतियों का संपादन-कार्य भी कराया जा रहा है।

ब्रजभाषा के काव्यों को समझने के लिए पहले हमें ब्रज की बोलियों तथा ब्रजक्षेत्र की संस्कृति से पूर्ण परिचय प्राप्त करना परमावश्यक है। ब्रज-संस्कृति से सम्बद्ध शब्दावली ही हमें ब्रजभाषा के काव्यों के समझने के लिए प्रशस्त मार्ग दिखा सकती है। इसी दृष्टि से अलीगढ़-जनपद की बोली पर आधारित कुछ लोकाचार-सम्बन्धी शब्दावली का विवेचन इस लेख में किया गया है।

अलीगढ़ का प्राचीन नाम 'कोल' है जो तहसील के नाम के रूप में अब भी अवशिष्ट है। ग्रामीण जन इसे 'कोल' न कह कर 'कोर' कहते हैं। उपर्युक्त ब्रजभाषा-क्षेत्र को दृष्टिपथ में रखकर हम कह सकते हैं कि अलीगढ़ जिला ब्रजभाषा-क्षेत्र की उत्तरी-पश्चिमी कोर (= किनारा) ही है। अलीगढ़ से मिले हुए बुलन्दशहर और बदायूँ के जिलों में तो भाषा बदल ही जाती है। अतः भाषा की दृष्टि से अलीगढ़ जिला कोर (सं० कोटि > हि० कोर = सिरा, किनारा) ही है। अलीगढ़ जिले में इस समय छः तहसीलें हैं—(१) खैर (२) कोल (३) अतरौली (४) सिकन्दराराऊ (५) हाथरस (६) इगलास।

इन तहसीलों के गाँवों में पुत्रजन्म के समय जो लोकाचार माने जाते हैं उनमें हमारी साँस्कृतिक भावनाओं के मूल स्रोतों तथा स्वच्छन्द प्रवाहिणी ब्रज-लोकभाषा की गति का पूरा-पूरा आभास मिल जाता है। लोक-संस्कृति हमें अपनी बोली के शब्दों के जीवन एवं

अर्थस्वरूप से भी परिचय प्राप्त करा देती है। शब्दों के शरीर से ही देश की नूतन-पुरातन सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति लिपटी हुई रहती है। 'सूरसागर' में प्रयुक्त 'काँपौ', 'हठरी', 'कारे कोस', 'लाल मुनइयन' आदि शब्दों का क्या बिम्बग्रहणात्मक अर्थ है, इसे व्रजलोक-संस्कृति का सच्चा प्रेमी तथा गम्भीर द्रष्टा ही समझ सकता है, और वही अर्थोद्भूत भाव में डूबकर आत्मरमण भी कर सकता है। जायसी के 'खाँपा' और सेनापति के 'सुरतर-सार' शब्द की चित्रात्मक व्याख्या क्या है, इसे लोक-संस्कृति एवं लोक-भाषा के जिज्ञासु भक्त से पूछिए। सतसेया के दोहरा नावक के तीर क्यों बताये गये हैं, इसका उत्तर वही दे सकता है जो कन्धे पर लोटा-डोर डालकर और साथ में झोला-डंडा लेकर घर से निकल पड़ा हो और जो जनपदीय जनों के जीवन में घर करने के लिए घर-घर अलख जगाता फिरा हो।

भाषाविज्ञानियों की पारिभाषिक शब्दावली में पश्चिमी हिन्दी ही 'हिन्दी' नाम से व्यक्त की गई है। हरियानी, कौरवी (खड़ी बोली), व्रजभाषा, कन्नौजी तथा बुंदेली नाम की बोलियाँ पश्चिमी हिन्दी के अन्तर्गत मानी जाती हैं। माधुर्य की दृष्टि से इन जनपदीय बोलियों में व्रजभाषा का स्थान सर्वोच्च है। उसमें भी व्रजकोर-क्षेत्र की भाषा तो आदर्श-भाषा है। मध्यदेशीय भाषा के विस्तृत क्षेत्र का पर्यटन करने के उपरान्त हम इस निष्कर्ष पर आजाते हैं कि भारतीय संस्कृति की माला में पुष्प तो अनेक प्रकार के हैं, किन्तु उनमें सुगन्धि एक-सी ही है। वस्तुतः हमारी संस्कृति का एक भाव ब्रह्म-ही ललित लीला-प्रदर्शन में 'बहु स्याम्' कह कर साकार बन गया है।

व्रजकोर-क्षेत्र के जन्मसंस्कार सम्बन्धी सम्पूर्ण लोकाचार आशा, हर्ष एवं उल्लास के लोकाचार हैं, जो अनेक प्रकार के गीतों तथा पूजार्चना के माध्यम से सम्पन्न होते हैं। जन्म-संस्कार की पृष्ठभूमि में प्रथम संस्कार 'गर्भाधान' है, जो प्रच्छन्न एवं मौन रूप में ही होता है। किन्तु जब स्त्री का गर्भ सात मास का हो जाता है तब 'साध आमनु' (सं० श्रद्धा आगमन) नाम का एक लोकाचार होता है। इसे ही हमारे शास्त्रों में 'पुंसवन' (पुं + √सू + ल्युट् = पुंसवन = पुमान् सूयते अनेन) कहा गया है; क्योंकि इसीसे पुरुष की उत्पत्ति होती है। 'साध-आमनु' से ही गर्भवती स्त्री तथा उसके कुटुम्बियों के मन में सन्तान की आशा दृढ़ एवं परिपक्व हो जाती है। 'साध' शब्द में ही प्रेम, आशा, अभिलाषा आदि के भाव समाविष्ट हैं—सं० श्रद्धा > सद्धा > साध। 'साधआमनु' पर गर्भवती स्त्री के पीहर (सं० पितृ-गृह) से कुछ तीहरें, बागे, पकवान और फल आते हैं। यह आई हुई सामग्री भी 'साध' या 'साद' ही कहाती है। तब गर्भवती स्त्री चौक पर बैठकर साध में आये हुए अपने कपड़े पहनती है, और ननद आरता (सं० आरात्रिक > आरता = दीपक-युक्त पूजन के थाल को सिर के आगे घुमाने की एक मांगलिक क्रिया) करती हुई यह गीत गाती है—

[आरता गीत]

“न्हैनी न्हैनी बुँदियन बरसैगो मेहु,
त्यारी मानि करिगी आरतौ।”

फिर अन्य बड़ी-बड़ी बूढ़ी स्त्रियाँ 'चौक' नाम का गीत सामूहिक रूप से गाती हैं—

[चौक गीत]

“आई धना^१ रानी चौक पै; होरिल^२ कण्ठ लगाइ;
अजुध्या में अनंद बधामनी।
आई सुभद्रा^३ आरतें^४; मांगतिं अपनों नेगु ।”

ऐसे गीत पुत्रोत्पत्ति की साध (इच्छा) को लेकर गाये जाते हैं। सास तथा अन्य बूढ़ी बयरबानियाँ (स्त्रियाँ) चौक^५ पर बैठी हुई गर्भिणी की कोख (सं० कुक्षि) पर हल्दी के छोटे लगाती हैं और कहती जाती हैं—

“खानी अधानी, पूत सिहानी, दूधन न्हाय, पूतन फले ।”

‘साध-आमनु’ के उपरान्त बालक के जन्म तक कोई लोकाचार नहीं मनाया जाता। जिस दिन बालक या बालिका का जन्म होने को होता है उस दिन कुछ लोकाचार तथा नेगचार किये जाते हैं। ‘जन्ति की पीर’ (प्रजनन-पीड़ा) के समय चलनी (सं० चालनी > चलनी = आटा छानने की एक वस्तु, छलनी) में जौ भरकर गर्भिणी स्त्रीके आगे रख दिये जाते हैं। तब बैमाता (सं० विधिमाता = संतान को गर्भ में बनाने वाली एक मातृका-शक्ति) की मनौती मनाते हुए उन जौओं से गर्भिणी का हाथ लगवा दिया जाता है। फिर सास चलनी के उन जौओं को दो भागों में विभक्त कर देती है। इस क्रिया को औंड़ा-कौंड़ा कहते हैं। अन्त में बच्चा हो जाने पर वे जौ दाई (सं० धात्रिका > धाइआ > धाई > दाई = बच्चे के पैदा करने में सहायता करने वाली स्त्री) को दे दिये जाते हैं। जब जच्चा (सन्तान उत्पन्न करने वाली गर्भमुक्त स्त्री) सोभर (सं० सूतिगृह) में खाट पर लेट जाती है, तब स्त्रियाँ मिलकर सन्तान की मंगलकामना की दृष्टि से एक गीत गाती हैं, जिसे ‘बै’ कहते हैं। ‘बै’ गीतों को ‘जच्चा’ या ‘विहाई’ नाम से भी पुकारते हैं। ‘बै’ गीत में यह भावना व्यक्त की जाती है कि बैमाता की कृपा और आशीर्वाद से जच्चा के पुत्र पैदा हुआ है। पुत्रजन्म के समय ही बै-गीत गाया जाता है; पुत्री के जन्म पर नहीं।

[बै गीत]

“आऔ बै, आऔ बै^६।
पइयाँ परति हूँ, लीलरियाँ^७ करति हूँ।
पूत की जन्म, बहू की आमनु,
जी बै देइ ती पाइए ।”


जब गागर (सं० गर्गरी = घड़ा) को बीच में से तोड़कर उसका नीचे का भाग सुरक्षित

१ धना = गर्भिणी, गर्भवती। लोक में गर्भ के लिए ‘धन’ शब्द चालू है।

२ होरिल = पुत्र।

३ सुभद्रा = कृष्ण की बहिन, भावी बालक की फूफ़ी, गर्भिणी स्त्री की ननद।

४ आरतें = आरते के लिए।

५ चौक = नाई या नाइन द्वारा धरती पर गेहूँ के आटे से बनाया हुआ एक प्रकार का वर्ग जिसके मध्य में ऐसा  स्वस्तिक चिन्ह भी बनता है।

६ बै = सं० विधि > बइ > बै = विधिमाता।

७ लीलरियाँ = खुशामद, मनुहार।

रख लिया जाता है, तब वह खपरा (सं० कर्पर) कहाता है। दाई पैदा हुए बच्चे को खपरे में बैठकर स्नान कराती है और फिर सूप में रखकर जन्तिहारी (जच्चा) की दाहिनी ओर सुला देती है।

बच्चा पैदा होने वाले दिन से ही गीत प्रारम्भ हो जाते हैं और प्रतिदिन डट्ठौन या दस्टौन (सं० दशमोत्थान=नामकरण संस्कार का दिन) तक गाये जाते हैं। 'नामकरण' के लिए 'तगा बँधना' भी कहा जाता है। नामकरण संस्कार ब्रजकोर-क्षेत्र में प्रायः दसवें दिन ही होता है। दस्टौन तक जो गीत प्रति दिन गाये जाते हैं, उनके नाम इस प्रकार हैं—वै (जच्चा) या बिहाई, कठुला, पालना, झुंझना, सतिया, सौंठ, जीरा, लपसी, करावली, मनगुर, और आरता।

उपर्युक्त गीतों में जच्चा, सतिया, जीरा, लपसी, करावली और मनगुर नाम के लोक-गीत जच्चा से सम्बन्धित हैं, और शेष बालक से सम्बन्धित होते हैं।

जच्चा को जन्ति (प्रजनन) के तीसरे दिन से ही एक विशेष प्रकार का औटा हुआ पानी पिलाया जाता है, जिसे चरुआ या बत्तीसा कहते हैं। बत्तीस वस्तुओं से कोरी हँडिया (सं० भाण्डिका > हण्डिआ > हँडिया) में 'बत्तीसा' तैयार किया जाता है। उस हँडिया को भी 'चरुआ' कहते हैं। 'चरुआ' शब्द वैदिक संस्कृत 'चरु' से सम्बन्धित है। ऋग्वेद में यह शब्द पात्र विशेष के अर्थ में आया है। इन्द्र के प्रति की हुई प्रार्थना में यह शब्द एक मंत्र में इस प्रकार प्रयुक्त हुआ है—

“स नो वृषन्नमुं चरुं सत्रादावन्नपा वृधि ।

अस्मभ्यमप्रतिष्कृतः ।” — ऋक्० १. ७. ६ ।

(अर्थात् हे अभीष्ट फल को इकट्ठा देने वाले बलवान् इन्द्र ! हमारे लिए अन्नपात्र का ढक्कन खोल दे ।)

चरुए की हँडिया पर जो गोबर के सतिये (सं० स्वस्तिक) धरे जाते हैं, वे भी चरुए ही कहते हैं। उस समय गाया जाने वाला एक विशेष गीत भी 'चरुआ गीत' कहाता है—

[चरुआ गीत]

“लाऔ रे हरद देउ बहुत चहचई,
वेगि कुन्दनपुर जाऔ,
रुकिमिनी के बाप कँ।
बैठे वाके पाँचौ भइया,
नाऊ नें करची है जुहार,
रुचन कहाँ पाइऐ ॥”

चरुए और सतिये (सं० स्वस्तिक > प्रा० सत्थिओ > सतिया) एक ही दिन धरे जाते हैं। द्वार की चौखट के पास दाई-बाई ओर का हिस्सा कौरा कहते हैं। इसके लिए संस्कृत में 'द्वारोपान्त' शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है। प्रसूतिका-गृह के द्वार के कौरों पर सतिया और फूल छबरिया (सं० फुल्ल क्षाबुरिका > फूल छबरिया) धरी जाती है। सतिये दो प्रकार के

होते हैं—(१) पुतसतिया^१ (२) कगसतिया^२। पुत्रजन्म पर पुतसतिया ही धरा जाता है। यदि पहले पहल पुत्री का जन्म हुआ हो, तो कगसतिया धरा जाता है। पुतसतिया मुख्यतः गेरू और गोबर से बनाये जाते हैं। जच्चा के सम्बन्ध में छठी तक जो विशिष्ट गीत गाये जाते हैं, उन्हें बिहाई (सं० वर्धापिका) भी कहते हैं। बालक के जन्म-दिन से छठे दिन होने वाला मांगलिक लोकाचार छठी (सं० पण्ठी) कहाता है।

भारतीय संस्कृति और साहित्य की परम्परा में अमूर्त को मूर्त बनाने की भावना सदा से प्रबल रही है। इसीके प्रवाह में बहते हुए बहुत-से शब्द भाववाचकत्व से जातिवाचकत्व को प्राप्त हुए हैं। वैदिक संस्कृत का शत्रुतावाची 'अराति' शब्द पाणिनीय संस्कृत में शत्रुवाची बना। अनुग्रहवाची 'मृडीक' पाणिनीय संस्कृत में शिव के नाम का अर्थ देने लगा। अधिक क्या कहें 'देवता' ने ही भाववादीपन को छोड़कर जातिवादीपन ग्रहण कर लिया है। उसी मार्ग का अनुसरण करते हुए 'बिहाई' भी लोक-गीतों के संसार में साकार, चेतन और क्रियाशील होगई है। भाषाविज्ञान के अर्थपरिवर्तन के प्रकारों में इसी अर्थविकास को तो मूर्तीकरण की दिशा कह देते हैं। निम्नांकित बिहाई गीत में बिहाई का मूर्तीकरण करके मनोवांछा-पूर्ति के लिए उसका स्वागत किया गया है—


[बिहाई गीत]

‘पिछवार बिहाई चौं खड़ी ?
तुम रीती जाउ कुम्हार कें,
भरी हमारें आउ।
पिछवार बिहाई चौं खड़ी ?
हड़िया परिया छोड़िकें,
करए हमारें लाऊ।
पिछवार बिहाई चौं खड़ी ?”

मिट्टी का एक लोटा-सा, जिसमें पानी निकलने के लिए छोटी-सी टोंटी लगी रहती है, करवाई या करवा कहाता है। बालक को प्रायः करए की धार से ही स्नान कराया जाता है। इसीलिए बिहाई गीत में करवों की माँग की गई है—(सं० करक > हि० करवा = मिट्टी का एक पात्र। “कमण्डली च करकः”—अमरकोश, ३. ३. ६)। कुम्हार के घर से करए मँगवाना पुत्र जन्म की मनः-कामनाओं का सूचक है। अलीगढ़ जनपद के गाँवों में निम्नांकित बिहाई बहुत गाई जाती है। इसमें सीता जी की उस दयनीय परिस्थिति का वर्णन है जब कि वाल्मीकि के आश्रम उनके गर्भ से लव-कुश का जन्म हुआ था—

“सिया ठाड़ी पछिताई कुस वन में भये।
कुस वन में भये री, नौकुस^३ वन में भये।

१ पुतसतिये मोर की आकृति के बनाये जाते हैं।

२ कगसतिये में स्वस्तिक चिन्ह  बनाया जाता है।

३ नौकुस = (सं० लवकुश > नउकुश > नौकुश—संस्कृत का 'ल' आधुनिक आर्य भाषा हिन्दी के 'न' में परिवर्तित हो गया है। संस्कृत का 'लवण' शब्द इसी नियम के आधार पर हिन्दी में 'नोंन' बन गया है (सं० लवण > नउन > नोंन)।

जी घर होतीं समुलि हमारी,
चरए देतीं धरवाइ, कुस वन में भये ।
सिया ठाड़ी पछिताई कुस वन में भये ।

जच्चा नाम के गीतों में यह गाया जाता है, कि ननद सतिये रख रही है, जिठानी पलिका (सं० पर्यंक, पल्यंक > हिं० पलंग > ब्रजवोली पलिका) बिछाती है, द्यौरानी (देवरानी) बीजना (सं० व्यजन = पंखा) दुरती है, देवर तीर साँधते हैं, नाइन बुलावा लगाती है, धोबिन सोभर के कपड़े धोकर लाती है, सखी सहेलियाँ मंगल गाती हैं, और पंडित जी राशियाँ गिनकर बालक का नाम धरते हैं। 'जच्चा' नाम के गीत के उपरान्त 'सतिया गीत' भी गाया जाता है—

[सतिया गीत]

“दूरि दिसाते आई ननदुलि बगर^१ बतइयो मेरे वीर^२ को ।
लाइकें बीबी हरी-सरौ गोबर, लीपति सलिल पछीत ।
सतिये धरौ बीबी मोरमुरारे, गिनि गिनि रोपौ सीक ।
धरि सतिये बीबी भई ठाड़ी, झगरति अपनी नेग ।

जन्म के छटे दिन छटी (सं० षष्ठी > प्रा० छटी > हिं० छटी) होती है । जच्चा की खाट के सिरहाने वाले दाहिने पाये के मत्थे पर छठी देवी (सं० षष्ठी देवी) काढ़ी जाती है । उसे पीला कपड़ा उढ़ाया जाता है और लपसी (सं० लप्सिका = हलुए की तरह का एक लेह्य पदार्थ) से उसे पूजा जाता है । छटी-पूजन हमारा प्राचीन पूजन है । वै या बिहाई नाम के गीतों और छठी-पूजन के संकेत हमें बाणभट्टकृत 'कादम्बरी' में मिलते हैं । बाण ने बिहाई गीत और छठी देवी के पूजन का वर्णन अपने ढँग से किया है । राजा तारापीड की पत्नी के गर्भ से जब चन्द्रापीड का जन्म हुआ था, तब 'सूतिका-मंगल' गीत गाये गये थे और 'षष्ठी देवी'^३ का पूजन भी हुआ था ।

छठी देवी के पूजन के समय जो विशेष गीत गाया जाता है, उसे छटी गीत कहते हैं—

[छठी गीत]

“छठिय पुजन्ती आई रे जचरिया ।
दूध-पूत चरुआ कौ जीवै ।
कोखि माँग कूं नित सुख हूजै ।
आजु गोद भरी आई रे जचरिया ॥”

छठी के दिन गाये जाने वाले गीतों में पालना, झुंझना, जीरा, सौंठ, करावली.

१ बगर = धर ।

२ वीर = भाई ।

३ “सूतिका मंगल गीतिका”—दे० कादम्बरी, बंगला संस्करण, पृष्ठ २७६—सूतिकागृह वर्णना खण्ड में ।

४ “स्वस्ति-भक्ति जालमुपरचयिता × × × × पिञ्जराम्बरधारिणी भगवती-षष्ठी-देवी कुर्वता”—कादम्बरी, बंगला-संस्करण, सूतिकागृह-वर्णना खण्ड, पृ० २७७ ।

आदि प्रसिद्ध हैं। इन गीतों के नाम प्रायः उन वस्तुओं के नामों के आधार पर पड़ गये हैं, जिनसे या तो बालक खेलता है, या जच्चा जिन्हें प्रसूतावस्था में अपने काम में लाती है। सारांश यह है कि छठी के दिन गाये जाने लोक गीत जच्चा और बच्चे के जीवन के चारों ओर चकफेरी लगाते हैं। किसी गीत में दादी-बाबा लाला के लिए कठुला और झुंझना लाते हैं, तो किसीमें जच्चा के लिए सौंठ और पीपल लाने की चिन्ता की जाती है। किसी गीत में जच्चा बालक को पालने में झुलाती है—

[पालना गीत]

“काऊ छैला सँवरिया की नारि,
अटा पै ठाड़ी झुलावै पालना ।
वाके बावाने गढ़ायौ पालना,
वाकी दादी झोटा दे रही ॥”

[झुंझना गीत]

“मेरे हाथ झुंझना लाल रे !
सीने की झुंझना बाजनौ ?
वाके बाबा ने गढ़ायौ झुंझना ।
दादी के लड़ैते खेलि रे !
मेरे हाथ झुंझना लाल रे !”

जन्म-संस्कार के सब लोक-गीत जब एक साथ गाये जाते हैं, तब उन्हें ‘रनझांझन’ कहते हैं। बालक का नाम रख जाने के उपरान्त मनगुर और करावली (करावली=कढ़ाई शब्द का ब्रजबोली-रूप) गीत विशेष रूप से गाये जाते हैं। नाम के पश्चात् जच्चा के चौक पर से उठने से पहले मानि (बच्चे की फूफी) प्रसूतिका-गृह के कोरों पर रखे हुए पुतसतियों और छवरिया को उचेल लेती है। तदुपरान्त उस स्थान पर ऐंपन (चावल के आटे का बना हुआ द्रव विशेष) से पुतसतिये और छवरिया काढ़ दी जाती है। फिर जच्चा चौक पर से उठकर गंगानदी की दिशा में बने हुए कोठे (सं० कोष्ठ > प्रा० कोट्ठ > हि० कोठा = छोटा कमरा-सा) में प्रवेश करती है। वहां उसकी सास उसका और बच्चे का सिर हिलाकर असीस (सं० आशीस्) देती है। तब जच्चा को कुछ खाने के लिए दिया जाता है, जिसे ‘मुंहजुठारना’ या ‘मुंहजिठारना’ कहते हैं। सवा महीने के पश्चात् जच्चा को पहली चूड़ियाँ उतरवाकर उनके स्थान पर नई चूड़ियाँ पहनवाई जाती हैं। इस लोकाचार को चुरियाबढ़न कहते हैं। तब जननहारी की ‘जच्चा’ संज्ञा समाप्त हो जाती है, और वह घर का प्रत्येक काम काज करने लगती है।

یہ ہے کہ جن شاعروں نے غدر میں حصہ لیا اور وہ بھی، جنہوں نے نہیں لیا، سب کے دل رنج و محن سے پُور تھے۔ اپنے معاشرے کی تباہی اور اقتصادی بد حالی کا اکثر شاعروں کو احساس تھا اور اس بنا پر وہ دل ہی دل میں انگریزوں سے خائف بھی تھے۔ اگر ایسا نہ ہوتا تو وہ اپنے کلام میں اپنی تباہی اور زبوں حالی کا اتنے بڑے پیمانے پر کبھی ماتم نہ کرتے۔ یہ دوسری بات ہے کہ ان کے سامنے وطنیت کا کوئی واضح تصور نہ تھا۔ وہ وقت کی سیاست کو سمجھنے سے قاصر تھے اور غدر فرو ہو جانے کے بعد میرٹھ کے سپاہیوں ہی کو ساری مصیبت کی جڑ سمجھتے تھے۔ اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ آزادی کا قدیم تصور اجتماعی کم اور انفرادی زیادہ تھا۔ سیاسی آزادی اس زمانے میں مذہبی اور تہذیبی آزادی کی شکلیں اختیار کرتی تھی۔ چنانچہ وطنیت کا تصور بھی سیاسی شعور سے نا آشنا تھا۔ اور عوام وطن کے ہر مسئلے کو اخلاق اور مذہب کے زاویے سے دیکھتے تھے۔ لہذا اردو شاعر بھی وطن کی سیاسی اور اقتصادی تباہ حالی کے لئے غیر ملکی حکومت یا اپنی غلامی کو مورد الزام ٹھہرانے کے بجائے اپنی تقدیر کو سستے تھے۔ حالات بہتر بنانے کے لئے فقط دعاؤں میں یقین رکھتے تھے یا پھر اس دردناک ماحول میں جینے پر موت کو ترجیح دیتے تھے۔ ظاہر ہے کہ قہر و جبر کے اس دور میں حب وطن کا جذبہ اپنے اظہار کے لئے یہی منفی پیرایہ اختیار کر سکتا تھا۔

شہر آشوبوں اور غزلوں سے لگایا جاسکتا ہے جنہیں افضل حسین خان کوکب نے ۱۸۶۳ء میں "فغانِ دہلی" کے نام مرتب کیا تھا۔ فغانِ دہلی کے شہر آشوبوں میں سے آزرہ، عیش، سالک، داغ، اور ظہیر کے شہر آشوب خاص طور پر قابل ذکر ہیں۔ ان میں انقلاب کے بعد کی پامالی اور دیرانی اس درد و سوز سے بیان کی ہے کہ آج بھی دل میں درد کی ٹیس اُٹھتی ہے۔ فغانِ دہلی میں غزلوں کی تعداد سے شبہ ہوتا ہے۔ کہ یہ کسی مشاعرے کا نتیجہ ہیں۔ نواب ضیاء الدین نیر رخشاں کی صاحبزادی بگابگم سے روایت ہے۔ کہ ۱۸۵۷ء کے غنی ہنگامے کے بعد دہلی والوں نے ایک مشاعرہ کیا جس میں اس وقت کے بیشتر اساتذہ نے شہر کی تباہی کا رونا رویا تھا۔ یہ مشاعرہ اردو شاعری کی تاریخ میں اس لحاظ سے خاص اہمیت رکھتا ہے۔ کہ اس سے پہلے اجتماعی درد و غم کا اظہار اتنے بڑے پیمانے پر کبھی نہیں ہوا تھا۔ اس میں شک نہیں کہ اردو شاعروں میں سے جہاں بعض شاعر انقلابیوں کی کامیابی سے خوش تھے۔ اور فتح کے موقعوں پر تاریخی قطعے کہتے تھے۔ وہاں چند شاعر ایسے بھی تھے جنہوں نے ہنگامہ فرو ہو جانے کے بعد اپنی غیر جانبداری کا اعلان کیا۔ اور انگریزوں سے مراعات حاصل کرنے کے لئے انقلاب کی مذمت کی۔

جہاں تک وطنیت کے تصور کا تعلق ہے، وہ بنیادی طور پر ان دونوں طرح کے شاعروں کے ہاں ایک ہی ہے۔ بظاہر اس میں بوالعجبی معلوم ہوتی ہے۔ کہ وہ شاعر جو انگریزوں کے خیر خواہ تھے اور وہ جو انگریزوں کے مخالف تھے ان کا اساسی نظریہ ایک کیسے ہو سکتا ہے۔ لیکن حقیقت یہی ہے اصل چیز انگریزوں کی مدح یا قبح نہیں۔ بلکہ وہ نقطہ نظر ہے جس سے یہ لوگ ۱۸۵۷ء کے واقعات کو دیکھتے تھے اور یہ نقطہ نظر ان دونوں کے ہاں بنیادی طور پر ایک ہی ہے۔ ان کے بیانات میں باہم جو تضاد ہے۔ وہ دراصل نقطہ نظر کا نہیں بلکہ ان تاریخی حالات کا ہے جس میں یہ نظمیں کہی گئیں۔ اردو کی وہ نظمیں جن میں انگریز دشمنی کی بو آتی ہے اس زمانے کی چیز ہیں۔ جب انگریزوں کا ستارہ عروج پر تھا۔ اور ان شاعروں کو اظہار رائے میں کوئی خطرہ نہیں تھا۔ اس کے برعکس وہ تمام کلام جس میں پوریوں اور تلنگوں کو برا بھلا کہا گیا ہے۔ اور غدر کی مذمت کی گئی ہے۔ اس زمانے کا ہے جب انگریز فتح یاب ہو چکے تھے اور ان کے جو رستم کا بازار گرم تھا۔ ایسے میں کس دیوانے کی شامت آئی تھی۔ کہ انگریزوں کے خلاف اپنے دلی جذبات کا اظہار کرتا۔ پھر یہ کہ ہر اہل قلم اہل سیف نہیں ہوتا۔ فضل الحق خیر آبادی نے توحی گوئی کی خاطر عمر قید برداشت کر لی۔ لیکن آزرہ نے جب پانسہ پلٹا ہوا دیکھا۔ تو جان بخشی کے لئے اپنا بیان بدلنے سے بھی گریز نہ کیا۔ آزرہ تو درکنار جس کسی نے بھی انگریزوں کے غلبے کے بعد غدر کے موضوع پر قلم اٹھایا، حاکموں کی خیر خواہی کے لئے غدر کی مذمت کی۔ لیکن ان بیانات کو جوں کا توں نہیں تسلیم کیا جاسکتا۔ یہ باتیں حالات سے مجبور ہو کر کہی گئی ہیں۔ ان کی حیثیت نیم صدائقوں سے زیادہ نہیں۔ غور سے دیکھیے۔ تو انہیں نیم صدائقوں کے لب دہلجے سے دل کا راز کھل جاتا ہے۔ واقعہ

چنانچہ انہوں نے اس جنگ میں قلم سے تلوار کا کام لیا۔ اور انگریزوں کے خلاف نظمیں لکھیں۔ کئی شاعروں نے قربانیاں دیں۔ مصیبتیں سہیں اور قید و بند کی کڑیاں بھیسیں۔ انگریزوں کے غلبہ کے بعد اردو فارسی کے وحید عصر عالم، مولانا صاحبانی، ان کے بیٹے سوزا، اور ان کے کنبہ کے ۱۹ افراد کو باقاعدہ ماری گئی۔ محمد حسین آزاد کے والد مولوی محمد باقر اور ذوق کے فرزند خلیفہ اسماعیل بھی بالکل بے قصور و بے گناہ قتل ہوئے۔ بہن زادہ، خضر سلطان جو غالب کے شاگرد تھے مسجر ہاؤس کی گولی کا نشانہ بنے۔ بدایوں کے شاعر اشرف علی نفیس اور بریلی کے نواب خان بہادر خان مصروف بھی بغاوت کے جرم میں ماخوذ ہوئے۔ اور پھانسی پر چڑھا دیئے گئے۔ آئندہ کے امکانات ملل جائداد سب اس ہنگامے میں برباد ہو گئی بیش قیمت اور نادر کتب خانہ لٹ گیا۔ ملازمت موقوف ہوئی اور مدرسہ دارالبقا بھی جس میں وہ درس دیتے تھے، ڈھک دیا گیا۔ ان صدیوں نے آئندہ کی نوشی کے سرچشموں کو خاک پیز کر دیا جس کے باعث ان کی باقی عمر بڑی تلخی میں بسر ہوئی۔

مولانا فضل حق خیر آبادی جن کے دوستانہ مشوروں نے غالب کی شعری تربیت کے حق میں استاد کامل کا کام کیا جرم بغاوت میں ماخوذ ہوئے۔ اور قلم سے جہاد کی پادش میں کمال پائی بھیجے گئے۔ جہاں بڑی بڑی ذیلیں حد میں پھنس رہے تھے۔ آخر وہیں انتقال کیا۔ شیفٹہ نے انگریزوں سے نفرت اپنے استاد مومن سے ورثہ میں لی تھی فتح دہلی کے بعد یہ بھی انگریزوں کے مقرب قرار پائے۔ اور سات سال کی قید فرنگ سے مشکل بچے۔ یہ اور ایسے کئی دوسرے شاعر اپنی وطن دوستی کی وجہ سے انگریزوں کی تیغ جفا کے شہید ہوئے۔ آئندہ کے بہنوئی منشی آغا جان محکمہ اینٹنی میں محبوس تھے۔ جب انگریزوں نے دہلی پر قبضہ کر لیا۔ تو یہ بھی دہلی چھوڑ کر بھاگے۔ مہینوں پریشان بھٹکتے رہے۔ آخر سلطان جی میں جا رہے۔ کسی نے منجری کی کہ یہ جہادوں کو کھانا وغیرہ کھلاتے تھے۔ چنانچہ اس جرم میں ماخوذ ہوئے۔ اور قید کر دیئے گئے۔ مینٹر شکوہ آبادی کو جس دوام بہ عبور دہلی کے شور کا حکم ہوا۔ آزاد کا وارنٹ کٹ گیا تھا۔ انہوں نے جنوبی ہندوستان میں برسوں باویہ پیرائی کر کے اپنی جان بچائی۔ ظہیر دہلی کے خسر اس ہنگامہ میں ہلاک ہوئے۔ ان کا ہزاروں کا اسباب لٹ گیا۔ اور یہ جان بچانے کے لئے مدتوں شہر بہ شہر بھٹکتے پھرے۔ ظہیر کے بھائی انور دہلی کے دو مکمل دیوان ضائع ہو گئے۔ محمد زکریا خان زکی دہلی کا مسکن دہلی کے مشہور محلہ زینت باڑی میں تھا غدر کے بعد ان کی خانہ دانی جائداد خالص لگ گئی۔ اور یہ دہلی چھوڑنے پر مجبور ہو گئے۔ سالک اور مجروح کو بھی دہلی کو خیر باد کہنا پڑا مجمع بیچاے درد کی ٹھوکریں کھانے ہوئے پیدل پانی پت پہنچے۔ اور مدتوں تلاش معاش میں سرگردان رہے۔ نواب ضیاء الدین نیروخشان بڑی مشکل سے معہ اہل و عیال دہلی سے نکلے تھے لیکن راہ ہی میں رات کو لٹیروں نے سارا سامان اور مال و اسباب لوٹ لیا۔ اور دہلی میں بھی ان کے گھروں میں جھاڑو پھیر گئی۔ اور ہزاروں روپے کا کتب خانہ تباہ ہوا۔ اس حادثہ میں ان کا تمام کلام نظم و نثر اور مرزا غالب کا وہ کلام بھی جو ان کے ہاں جمع ہوتا تھا، ضائع ہو گیا۔ واقعات کی اس زد سے حالی بھی محفوظ نہ رہے۔ یہ حصار سے پانی پت جلتے ہوئے بری طرح لٹیروں کا شکار ہوئے۔ اور زخمی حالت میں وطن پہنچے۔ دہلی کے لاکھوں باشندوں کی طرح مرزا یوسف علی خاں عزیز (شاگرد غالب) اور فادر بخش صابر کو بھی شہر بدر ہونا پڑا۔ ان کے علاوہ اردو کے کئی شاعر ایسے ہیں جن کے تفصیلی حالات، اس انقلاب کے زمانے کے نہیں ملتے۔ جانے اس سلسلے میں انہوں نے کیا کیا کڑیاں بھیسیں ہوں گی۔ اور انگریزوں کے کیے کیے کیا کیا مظالم ہوئے ہوں گے۔ ان کا کچھ اندازہ البتہ اُمید

1857 AND URDU POETS

By

Dr. Gopi Chand Narang
DELHI UNIVERSITY

۱۸۵۷ء اور اردو شعرا

سنہ اٹھارہ سو ستاون میں انگریزوں کے خلاف ہندوستان میں جو ہنگامہ رونما ہوا اسے پہلی جنگ آزادی کے نام سے پکارنے میں تمام مورخوں کا اتفاق نہیں۔ اس میں کوئی شبہ نہیں کہ سنہ کے واقعات کے پیچھے کوئی منظم یا باقاعدہ تحریک نہ تھی لیکن اتنا ثابت ہے کہ یہ واقعات بہت اہم تاریخی کارنامہ ہیں۔ انگریزوں کے خلاف نفرت اس وقت بہت نمایاں تھی۔ اور اس کے اظہار میں ہندو اور مسلمان دو نو برابر کے شریک تھے۔ یہ شورش کامیاب تو نہ ہوئی لیکن اس سے انگریزوں کی بڑی کاظم ٹوٹ گیا جس سے آگے چل کر قومیت کا شعور ابھرنے میں بہت مدد ملی چنانچہ اس سلسلے میں یہ معلوم کرنا کہ ۱۸۵۷ء کے واقعات میں اردو شاعروں کا کیا حصہ تھا۔ اور ملک کی اس جنگ آزادی میں شامل ہو کر انھوں نے کیا کیا قربانیاں دیں، اہمیت سے خالی نہیں۔ اس سے یہ بھی معلوم ہو سکے گا۔ کہ اس زمانے کے اردو شاعر و طینت کے کیا جذبات رکھتے تھے۔ اور ان کا برملا اظہار ان کے لئے کیوں ممکن نہ تھا۔

انیسویں صدی کے وسط کے اردو شاعروں کے ہاں حب وطن کے جدید تصور کی تلاش عبت ہے۔ اس زمانے میں وطنیت کا تصور آج کے تصور سے بالکل مختلف تھا۔ اس کی بنیاد سیاسی یا معاشی نہیں بلکہ اخلاقی اور روحانی تھی۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ یہ تصور انفرادی زیادہ تھا۔ اور اجتماعی کم۔ تاہم اس سے انکار نہیں کہ اس زمانے میں انگریزوں کی غلامی اور مظلومیت کا احساس رفتہ رفتہ ہندوستان کے تمام طبقوں میں قدر مشترک کی شکل اختیار کرنے لگا تھا۔ چنانچہ اس دور کی اردو شاعری میں بھی اس کے اثرات خال خال نظر آتے ہیں کہیں کوئی مصحفی، کوئی جرات، کوئی مومن ان محضی دلی جذبات کو الفاظ کا جامہ پہنا دیتا ہے لیکن چونکہ اس زمانے میں آزادی کا تصور ابھی مذہبی یا اخلاقی روپ اختیار کئے ہوئے تھا۔ انگریزوں کی مخالفت عام طور پر اس لئے ہوئی کہ ان کی محکومیت میں دین اور مذہب خطرے میں تھا۔

اردو کے اکثر شاعر ۱۸۵۷ء کی اس آویزش و پیکار کی زد میں بڑی طرح آئے۔ ان میں سے بعض نے عملی طور پر بھی اس جنگ میں حصہ لے کر اپنی وطن دوستی کا حق ادا کیا۔ اردو کے یہ شاعر اگرچہ کسی ملکی یا قومی جذبہ سے تو آشنا نہ تھے لیکن اپنی سلطنت کے جاتے و پھرتے سے انوش نغزوں سے اور انگریزی حکومت کو اپنی نظر سے نہیں دیکھتے تھے

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਬੋਲੀ

—ਸੁਰਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੋਹਲੀ

ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਦੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਕੁਝ ਭੁਲੇਖੇ ਹਨ। ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੱਜਣਾਂ ਨੇ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਪੜ੍ਹੀ ਅਤੇ ਕੇਵਲ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਅੱਖਰ ਹੀ ਵੇਖੇ ਹਨ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਗ਼ਲਤ ਅੰਦਾਜ਼ਾ ਲਗਾਇਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਹੀ ਹੋਣੀ ਹੈ। ਦੂਜੇ ਉਹ ਸੱਜਣ ਵੀ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਦੇ ਵਿਸ਼ੇ ਅਤੇ ਕਵੀਆਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਅਧੂਰਾ ਗਿਆਨ ਹੈ, ਉਹ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਮੰਨਦੇ ਹਨ। ਪਰ ਜਦੋਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਖੋਜ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਤਾਂ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਕਈ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਪ-ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਡਾ: ਟਰੰਪ ਨੇ ਤਾਂ ਇਥੋਂ ਤਕ ਕਿਹਾ ਹੈ “ਕਿ ਸਿਖ ਗਰੰਥ ਦੀ ਮਹਾਨਤਾ ਬੋਲੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਹੈ, ਹਿੰਦਵੀ ਉਪ-ਭਾਖਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਖ਼ਜ਼ਾਨਾ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਕੇ।”

ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਆਈ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਮਹਾਂ-ਪੁਰਸ਼ਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹਨ ਜੋ ਬਾਰੂਵੀਂ ਤੋਂ ਸਤਾਰਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਤਕ ਹੋਏ। ਭਗਤ ਜੈਦੇਵ ਅਤੇ ਫ਼ਰੀਦ ਬਾਰੂਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਏ ਅਤੇ ਅਖ਼ੀਰਲੇ ਸਿਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹੈ, ਨੇ ਸਤਾਰਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ (੧੬੭੫) ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੀ।

ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਦੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਦੀ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ਵੰਨਗੀ ਭਗਤ ਜੈਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਦੋ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਹਨ—ਇਕ ਰਾਗ ਗੁਜਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਜਾ ਰਾਗ ਮਾਰੂ ਵਿਚ। ਪਹਿਲੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਧੀ ਦੇ ਨਿਯਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਪਾਲਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ ਜਿਵੇਂ

ਗੋਬਿੰਦੇਤਿ = ਗੋਬਿੰਦ + ਇਤਿ; ਪੁਰਖਮਨੋਪਿਮੰ = ਪੁਰਖ + ਅਨੋਪਿਮੰ; ਪਰਮਦਭੁਤੰ = ਪਰਮ + ਅਦਭੁਤੰ; ਪਰਮਾਦਿ = ਪਰਮ + ਆਦਿ; ਪ੍ਰਸੰਨਮਿਦੰ = ਪ੍ਰਸੰਨਮ + ਇਦੰ; ਮਨੋਰਮੰ = ਮਨਸ + ਰਮੰ; ਕਮਰਣਾ = ਕਰਮਨ + ਆ।

ਡਾ: ਟਰੰਪ ਵੀ ਕਹਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜੈਦੇਵ ਦਾ ਇਹ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਤੇ ਗੰਢਾਰੂ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਮਿਲਗੋਭਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੇ ਖ਼ਾਸੇ ਦਿਸ ਪੈਂਦੇ ਹਨ :—

੧. ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਦਾ ਯ ਜ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ—ਯਦਿ) ਜਦਿ; ਯਮਾਦਿ) ਜਮਾਦਿ; ਯਸ਼ਸ) ਜਸ਼
੨. ਵ ਬ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ :—ਵਚਸਾ) ਬਚਸਾਂ; ਗੋਵਿੰਦ) ਗੋਬਿੰਦ; ਸਰਵ) ਸਰਬ; ਵਿਧਿ) ਬਿਧਿ;

੩. ਆ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਨਿਹਕੇਵਲਾ

ਉਪਰ ਲਿਖੇ ਖ਼ਾਸੇ ਡਾ: ਜੀ ਵੀ ਤਾਗਰੇ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਖ਼ਾਸੇ ਹਨ। ਡਾ: ਤਾਗਰੇ ਨੇ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਿੰਨ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਵੰਡਿਆ ਹੈ ਯਥਾ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼, ਦਖਣੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਅਤੇ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼। ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਮਾਲਵੇ, ਰਾਜਪੂਤਾਨੇ, ਗੁਜਰਾਤ ਆਦਿ ਦੀਆਂ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹਨ, ਦਖਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਦਖਣ ਦੇ ਲਿਖਾਰੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਹਿਸਿਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਖ਼ਾਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਬੰਗਾਲ ਦੀਆਂ।

(੧੭੦)

ਜ਼ੈਦਵ ਦਾ ਦੂਜਾ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਬਹੁਤ ਘਟ ਹੈ। ਭੂਤ ਕਰਮਵਾਚ ਕਿਰਦੰਤ (Past Passive Participle) ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਇਸ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਾਸ ਖਾਸਾ ਹੈ। ਡਾ: ਤਾਗਰੇ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ-ਇਯਾ, -ਇਆ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਭੂਤ ਕਰਮਵਾਚ ਕਿਰਦੰਤ ਲਈ ਪਿਛੇਤਰ ਹਨ। ਇਸਦੀਆਂ ਮਿਸਾਲਾਂ ਭੇਦਿਆ, ਪੂਰਿਆ, ਕੀਆ, ਤੋੜਿਆ, ਬਪਿਆ, ਘੜਿਆ, ਪੀਆ, ਸੰਮਾਨਿਆ, ਅਰਧਿਆ, ਸਰਧਿਆ, ਆਇਆ, ਰੰਮਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਪਾਇਆ ਹਨ।

ਪੂਰਬੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਤੋਂ ਛੁਟ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਆਦਿ ਗੰਰਥ ਵਿਚ ਪੱਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੀਆਂ ਮਿਸਾਲਾਂ ਵੀ ਮਿਲਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਸਹਸਿਕ੍ਰਤੀ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਅਤੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਗਾਥਾ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਸੋਲ੍ਹਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਰਚੇ ਸਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸ਼ਲੋਕਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਬੋਲੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੀਆਂ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਤਾਈਆਂ ਮਿਲਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ :—

੧. ਵ ਬ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਬਰਧ (ਵ੍ਧ; ਬਿਗਸੀਧਿ(ਵਿਕਸਿਤ; ਬਿਧਿ(ਵਿਧਿ; ਬਿਚਰ(ਵਿਚਰਨ; ਬਿਗਯਾਪਿਤ(ਵਿਗਯਾਪਿਤ; ਬੇਸਟ(ਵੇਖਣ; ਸਰਬ(ਸਰਵ; ਬਿਓਗ(ਵਿਯੋਗਿਨ; ਭਬਯੇ(ਭਵਯੇ; ਬ੍ਰਿਥਾ(ਵਯਥਾ

੨. ਸ਼ ਅਤੇ ਖ ਸ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਜਿਵੇਂ ਆਸ੍ਰਯੇ (ਆਸ਼ਰਯ; ਸੁਭੰਤ ਸੋਭਨ; ਦਿਸਹ (ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟਾ; ਸਿਖੰਭ (ਸਿਖਾ + ਅੰਭ; ਵਸ (ਵਸ; ਦੁਸਟਾਂ (ਦੁਸ਼ਟਾਂ; ਸਾਸਨ (ਸ਼ਾਸਨਾ; ਦਸਨ (ਦਸ਼ਨ; ਕੁਸਲਣਾ (ਕੁਸ਼ਲਿਨ; ਗਰਿਸਟ (ਗਰਿਖਣ

੩. ਕਸ਼ ਖ ਜਾਂ ਛ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਪੇਖੰਤ (ਪ੍ਰੇਕਸ਼ਣ; ਰਖੇਣ (ਰਕਸ਼; ਛੇਪ (ਕਸ਼ਪ;

੪. ਏਣ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਪ੍ਰਹਾਰੇਣ, ਰਖੇਣ, ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰੇਣ, ਰੂਪੇਣ, ਗਰਬੇਣ, ਗਛੇਣ, ਭਾਰੇਣ, ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੇਣ, ਭਰਮੇਣ, ਸੰਗੇਣ।

੫. ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਹ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਆਮ ਹੈ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਬਾਧਵਹ, ਗ੍ਰਿਹਾਰਥਕਹ, ਚਰਮਣਾਂਹ, ਅਸਥੰਡਨਹ, ਆਵਧਹ, ਦਿਸਹ, ਲੋਕਕਹ, ਸਨਬੰਧਕਹ, ਅਗ੍ਰਣੀਵਹ, ਦੁਰਜਨਹ, ਆਲਯਹ, ਬਿਮੋਹਨਹ, ਤੋਯਣਹ, ਏਥਹ, ਜਨਮਨਹ, ਜੀਅਕਹ, ਸੰਸਯਹ, ਜੀਅਣਹ, ਕੁਸਲਣਹ, ਸਮੂਹਣਹ, ਸੁਪਨਹ, ਨਰਹ।

੬. ਆ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰਾ, ਪਰਾ, ਬਲਮਾ

੭. ਵਿਸਰਗ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਦ੍ਰਿਤੰਤਣ:, ਲਿਖਣ:, ਸੰਪੂਰਣ:, ਰੰਗਣ:।

੮. ਅਨੁਸਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਸੁਖਯੰ, ਦੇਹੰ, ਬਲਨੰ, ਧਰਮੰ, ਆਸ੍ਰਯੰ, ਪ੍ਰਿਅੰ, ਸਿਖੰਡੇ, ਰਿਖਿਅੰ, ਜਨਮੰ, ਪਾਤਾਲੰ, ਭਸਮੰ, ਪਾਛੰ, ਦਾਨੰ, ਵਸਯੰ, ਪਿਸਨੰ, ਅਟਵੀਅੰ, ਅਧਮੰ, ਬੇਸਟੰ, ਮਦਿਰੰ, ਤੁਯੰ, ਮੇਰੰ, ਹਰੀਅੰ, ਹਿਰਣੰ, ਫਰਣੰ, ਲਭੰਤੰ, ਲਬਧਿਅੰ, ਰਤਨੰ, ਰਚਨੰ ਬਿਓਗੰ।

੯. ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਵਿਆਕਰਣ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਸੁਆਰਥਕ (Present indicative) ਵਿਚ ਕਰਤਰੀ ਵਾਚ (ਪਰਸਮਯਪਦ) ਅਤੇ ਕਰਮਨੀ ਵਾਚ (ਆਤਮਨੇਪਦ)।
ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯਾਂਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ

(੧੭੧)

ਕਰਤਰੀ ਵਾਰ ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਸੁਆਰਥਕ ਇਕ ਵਚਨ :—ਕਰੋਤਿ, ਪਤਿਤ, ਅਵਰਤ
ਕਰਮਨੀ ਵਾਰ ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, :—ਛੇਦਤੇ, ਆਕਰਖਤੇ, ਲਭਤੇ, ਤਿਪਤੇ
ਉਪਤਿਸਟਤੇ, ਅਰੂੜਤੇ, ਬਿਚਰਤੇ, ਉਪਰਸਤੇ, ਏਹਤੇ ।

ਕਰਤਰੀ ਵਾਰ ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਸੁਆਰਥਕ ਬਹੁਵਚਨ :—ਰਹੰਤ, ਪ੍ਰਿਗੰਤ, ਮਿਬੰਤ, ਖੀਣੰਤ,
ਬਰਧੰਤ, ਹਿਤੰਤ, ਗਨੰਤ, ਪਤੰਤ, ਰਚੰਤ, ਸਿਮਰੰਤ, ਜਾਨੰਤ, ਜਪੰਤ, ਸੁਭੰਤ, ਪੇਖੰਤ,
ਮਿਟੰਤ, ਬਸੰਤ, ਬਧੰਤ, ਗਿਰੰਤ, ਜਲੰਤ, ਤਿਣੰਤ, ਸਹਕੰਤ, ਬੂਡੰਤ, ਉਣੰਤ ।

ਕਰਮਨੀ ਵਾਰ ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, :—ਪੇਖੰਤੇ, ਭੁੰਚੰਤੇ, ਗਹੰਤੇ,

੧੦. ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਸ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਮਿਤ੍ਰਸ, ਹੀਣਸ

੧੧. ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਮ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਸਤਮ, ਸੰਗਮ

੧੨. ਪਿਛੇਤਰ ਕਾਰੀ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਬਲਵੇਤਕਾਰੀ

੧੩. ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਭਣਿਸ਼

੧੪. ਨ ਦਾ ਣ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲਣਾ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਖੀਣੰਤ (ਛਿਨ; ਚਰਮਣਹ (ਚਰਮਨ; ਜੀਅਣਹ
(ਜੀਵਿਨ; ਕੁਸ਼ਲਣਾਂ (ਕੁਸਲਿਨ; ਲਿਖਣ : (ਲਿਖਨੰ ।

੧੫. ਮਮੰ, ਤਵ, ਤੁਯੰ, ਜੇਣ, ਤੇਣ, ਜਸ ਪੜਨਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ

੧੬. ਜਥ, ਕਥ, ਤਥ, ਦੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਆ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਣ ਦੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਵਰਤੋਂ

੧੭. ਕਦੰਚ, ਕਤੰਚ, ਅਤੇ ਕਦਾਂਚਹ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਵਾਦੀ ਪੜਨਾਵ ਦੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਵਰਤੋਂ

ਸਹਸਕ੍ਰਿਤੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਉਪਰ ਲਿਖੀਆਂ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਤਾਈਆਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਬੋਲੀ ਦੀ ਬਣਤਰ ਬਾਰੇ
ਗਿਆਨ ਦਿੰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ । ਨੰ: ੧, ੨, ੩, ੪, ੫, ੬, ੧੦, ੧੨, ੧੩, ੧੪, ੧੫, ੧੬, ੧੭
ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਤਾਈਆਂ ਹਨ ਪਰ ਨੰ: ੭, ੮, ੯ ਅਤੇ ੧੧ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੀਆਂ ।
ਕਿਰਿਆਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਣਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੇ ਨਿਯਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਅਪਣਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ । ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੇ
ਵਿਸਰਗ ਅਤੇ ਅਨੁਸਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ । ਭਾਵੇਂ ਸਹਸਕ੍ਰਿਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੇ
ਸ਼ਾਸਿਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯ ਲਗਾਏ ਗਏ
ਹਨ, ਉਹ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਤਦਭਵ ਹਨ ਪਰ ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ ਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ
ਹੈ ਜਿਵੇਂ

ਤਤਸਮ :—ਕਰੋਤਿ, ਅਵਰਤ, ਤੋਯੰ, ਗਰਬੇਣ, ਲਬਧੰ, ਸਤਮ, ਸੰਗਮ,

ਤਦਭਵ :—ਪੇਖੰਤੇ (ਪ੍ਰੇਕਸ਼ਣ), ਪ੍ਰਿਗੰਤ (ਧਿਕ), ਬਰਧੰਤਿ (ਵਰਧ), ਉਪਤਿਸਟਤੇ
(ਉਪਤਿਖਣਤੇ)

ਦੇਸੀ :—ਪਾਛੰ, ਇਤੰਤ

ਪਰ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਤਦਭਵ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯ ਲਗਾਏ ਗਏ ਹਨ ਜਿਵੇਂ
ਨੰ: ੪, ੫, ੬, ੧੦, ੧੨ ਅਤੇ ੧੩ ਵਿਚ ਵਰਤੇ ਗਏ ਸ਼ਬਦ । ਵਿਆਕਰਣਕ ਨਿਯਮਾਂ
ਦੀ ਵੀ ਕਰੜਾਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਖੀ ਗਈ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕ੍ਰਿਆਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯ ਨਾਵਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਲਗਾਏ ਗਏ ਹਨ
ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕੂਟਬੰਤੇ, ਮਹੀਪਤੇ । ਕਤਾਂਚ, ਚਲੰਬੋ ਅਤੇ ਲਹੰਬਾ ਦੀ ਬਣਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਨਿਯਮ ਨਹੀਂ ।

(੧੭੨)

ਉਪਰਲੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਤੋਂ ਇਹ ਸਿੱਟਾ ਕਢਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ

੧. ਸਹਸਕ੍ਰਿਤੀ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਤੇ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦਾ ਮਿਲਗੋਭਾ ਹਨ ।

੨. ਇਹ ਬੋਲੀ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਅਤੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਲਈ ਵਰਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਸੀ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਆਮ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਲੋਕ-ਬੋਲੀ ਨੂੰ ਅਪਨਾਣ ਦੀ ਰੁਚੀ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੀ ਸਾਹਿਤਕ ਬੋਲੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਤੋਂ ਬਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਕਦੇ ਸਨ ।

੩. ਇਹ ਇਕ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਨਕਲੀ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਸੀ ਜਿਸਨੂੰ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਪੰਡਤ ਵਰਤਦੇ ਸਨ ।

ਇਹ ਸੰਭਵ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਬੋਲੀ 'ਵਿਭ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟ' ਹੋ ਗਈ, ਇਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੀ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਸਹਸਕ੍ਰਿਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਪਲਟ ਗਿਆ ।

ਪੂਰਬੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਅਤੇ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੀਆਂ ਮਿਸਾਲਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਛੁਟ ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਦਖਣੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਮਗਰਲੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ । ਚੌਹਦਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਿਧ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਕਵੀ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਜਿਸਦੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹੈ, ਨੇ ਸੰਤ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਮਰਾਠੀ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੇ ਗੀਤ ਗਾਏ । ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਦੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਵਰਤੀ ਹੋਈ ਮਰਾਠੀ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ਮਰਾਠੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਦਖਣੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਨੇੜੇ ਸੀ । ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਦੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੇ ਖਾਸੇ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ :—

੧. ਪੁਲਿੰਗ ਨਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ —ਆ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ :—

ਭਾਂਵੜਾ, ਬਾਵਲਾ, ਭਾਂਗੀਆ, ਸੋਜਵਾਲੂਆ, ਰਾਮਈਆ, ਹੋਲਾ, ਪੰਡੀਆ, ਕਰਹਲਾ, ਲੇਖੀਆ, ਪਾਣੀਹਾਰੀਆ ।

੨. ਭੂਤਕਾਲ ਅਤੇ ਭੂਤ ਕਿਰਦੰਤ ਲਈ ਲ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ :—

ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਲਾ—ਜਿਵੇਂ ਬਾਧਿਲਾ, ਬਜਾਇਲਾ, ਹੋਇਲਾ, ਲਾਗਿਲਾ, ਸਮਾਇਲਾ, ਦੋਲਾ, ਭੋਲਾ, ਭੋਟਲਾ, ਭੀਠਲਾ, ਫੂਟਲਾ, ਘੂਟਲਾ ।

ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਲੇ—ਰੰਗੀਲੇ, ਸੇਵੀਲੇ, ਰਾਚੀਲੇ, ਭਾਖੀਲੇ, ਜੀਤਿਲੇ, ਆਨੀਲੇ, ਭਰਾਈਲੇ, ਪਰੋਈਲੇ, ਰੀਧਾਈਲੇ ।

ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਅਲੇ—ਬੋਧੀਅਲੇ, ਭਰਮੀਅਲੇ, ਰਾਖੀਅਲੇ, ਮਾਂਡੀਅਲੇ, ਛਾਡੀਅਲੇ ।

ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਲ—ਭੋਟਲ ।

੩. ਨਾਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਣਾਂ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਲਾ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਅਪਾਰਲਾ, ਪਿਛਵਾਰਲਾ, ਨਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਲੋ ਅਤੇ ਅਲੋ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਪੰਖੀਅਲੋ, ਮਾਛਲੋ, ਘੜੂਅਲੋ ।

੪. ਕਿਰਿਆਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਬੇ ਜਾਂ ਬੋ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਮਰਿਬੋ, ਤਰਿਬੋ ।

੫. ਕਿਰਿਆਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਓ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਬਾਂਧਿਓ, ਨਿਰਖਿਓ, ਆਪਿਓ, ਪਰਿਓ, ਭਇਓ, ਜਾਨਿਓ ।

੬. ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਤਾ, ਤੇ, ਤੀ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਲੇਤ, ਕਹਤ, ਹਾਂਕਤੀ, ਤਾਪਤੋ ।

੭. ਮਧਮ ਪੁਰਖ ਇਕ ਵਚਨ ਆਗਿਆਰਥ ਲਈ ਅਸਿ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਉਚਰਸਿ, ਪੂਜਸਿ, ਤਰਸਿ ।

੮. ਭਵਿਖਤ ਲਈ ਸੀ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਭਾਵਸੀ, ਰਾਖਸੀ ।

੯. ਕਿਰਿਆਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਗੋ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਤਰਹਿਗਾ, ਗਾਵਉਗੋ ।

੧੦: ਕਿਰਿਆਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਈਜੈ, ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਕੀਜੈ, ਪੀਜੈ, ਦੀਜੈ, ਲੀਜੈ ।

(੧੭੩)

੧੧. ਕਿਰਿਆ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਅਤ੍ਰ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਕਹੀਅਤ੍ਰ
 ੧੨. ਪਰਸਰਗ (Post-position) ਕੋਰਾ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ।
 ੧੩. ਨਾਵਾਂ ਤੇ ਪੜਨਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਚੇ ਜਾਂ ਚੈ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਤੁਮਚੇ, ਹਮਚੇ, ਤਾਚੇ, ਜਾਂਚੈ, ਸਿੰਘਚ ।
 ੧੪. ਅਨਪੁਰਖ ਬਹੁਵਚਨ ਆਗਿਆਰਥ ਲਈ-ਅੰਤ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਭਜੰਤੇ, ਦਿਸੰਤਾ, ਨਾਚੰਤੀ ।
 ੧੫. ਕਾਲਕ ਕ੍ਰਿਆ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਣ ਜਾਮਿ, ਪਾਛੈ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ
 ੧੬. ਥਾ ਅਤੇ ਕੋ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ
 ੧੭. ਵ ਦਾ ਬ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਣਾ—ਜਿਹਵਾ (ਜਿਹਵਾ ; ਬਸੈ (ਵਸੈ ; ਬੀਠੁਲਾ (ਵਿਠੁਲ
 ੧੮. ਯ ਦਾ ਜ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਣਾ—ਜਾਚੈ (ਯਾਚੈ
 ੧੯. ਇਕ ਵਚਨ ਸਬੰਧ ਕਾਰਕ ਲਈ ਹਿ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਰਾਮਹਿ
 ੨੦. ਕਾਗਦ, ਬਾਦਿਸਾਹ, ਸੁਲਤਾਨ, ਸਰਾਇਚਾ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਗ ਤਿਲੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਕੁਝ ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ।
 ੨੧. ਮੰਡਲੀਕ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਵਿਚ ਕ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਕੈਡਵੈਲ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯ ਦਾ ਪਿਛਾ ਦਰਾਵੜੀ ਸੋਮੇ ਮੰਨਦਾ ਹੈ—ਮਰਾਠੀ ਵਿਚ ਦਰਾਵੜੀ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਦਾ ਕੁਝ ਨਾ ਕੁਝ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਹੈ ।
 ੨੨. ਵਾ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ।
 ੨੩ ਕਸ਼ ਦਾ ਛ ਅਤੇ ਸ਼ ਦਾ ਸ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਣਾ—ਲਛਮੀ (ਲਕਸ਼ਮੀ ; ਸ੍ਰੀ (ਸ੍ਰੀ
 ੨੪. ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਧ ਵਿਚ ਆ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ—ਸਮਾਨ (ਸਾਮਾਨ, ਰਚੀਲੇ (ਰਾਚੀਲੇ

ਉਪਰਲੇ ਖਾਸਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਦੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਵਰਤੀ ਗਈ ਬੋਲੀ ਕੇਵਲ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ਮਰਾਠੀ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ, ਜਿਸਦੇ ਉੱਤੇ ਦਖਣੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਹੈ, ਸਗੋਂ ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ, ਅਰਬੀ, ਅਤੇ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਵੀ ਹੈ । ਨੰਬਰ ੧, ੨, ੩, ੭, ੧੦, ੧੨, ੧੩, ੧੪, ੧੫, ੧੭, ੧੮, ੧੯, ੨੧, ੨੩ ਅਤੇ ੨੪ ਜਾਂ ਤਾਂ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ਮਰਾਠੀ ਦੇ ਖਾਸੇ ਹਨ ਜਾਂ ਦਖਣੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੇ । ਨੰਬਰ ੪, ੮, ਸਿੰਧੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਹਨ । ਨੰ: ੫, ੬, ੯, ੧੧ ਅਤੇ ੧੬ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਦਰਸਾਉਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਨੰ: ੨੦ ਅਤੇ ੨੨ ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਅਰਬੀ ਦਾ । ਗੁਜਰਾਤੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਵੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਰਾਇ ਗੁਜਰਾਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਉ ਮਰਾਠੀ ਹੈ । ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਵਲਭ ਤੋਂ ਬਣਿਆ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਬਾਲਹਾ ਗੁਜਰਾਤੀ ਹੈ ।

ਸੰਤ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ, ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕਿ ਉੱਤੇ ਕਿਹਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਦੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਵਰਤੀ ਹੋਈ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਮਗਰੋਂ ਹੋਰ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਭਗਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਇਸਨੂੰ ਵਰਤਿਆ । ਇਉਂ ਭਾਸਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵਾਂਗ ਹੀ, ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਸਾਂਝੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਬਣ ਰਹੀ ਸੀ ।

ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਗੋਰਖ ਪੰਥੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਭਗਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਦ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਰਚੇ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਰੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰਿਆ । ਇਹੋ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦਾ ਦੂਜੀਆਂ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਪਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਹੈ । ਜਦੋਂ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਯਾਰੂਵੀਂ ਜਾਂ

(੧੭੪)

ਬਾਰੂਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਹਿਤਕ ਬੋਲੀ ਬਣ ਗਈ ਤਾਂ ਇਸ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਨਵੀਂ ਬੋਲੀ ਨੂੰ ਥਾਂ ਦਿਤੀ । ਇਸ ਨਵੀਂ ਬੋਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ (ਜਿਹੜੀ ਕਿ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਤੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਲਈ ਗਈ ਸੀ) ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵਾਲੀ ਹੀ ਸੀ । ਇਸ ਬੋਲੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਭਗਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਕੀਤਾ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਜਾਂ ਸਧੂਕੜੀ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਦਿਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ।

ਇਸ ਬੋਲੀ ਦੇ ਖਾਸੇ ਇਹ ਹਨ :—

੧. ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਲਈ ਗਈ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ।

੨. ਜਿਸ ਭਾਗ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਤ ਜਾਂ ਭਗਤ ਰਹਿੰਦਾ ਸੀ, ਉਸ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਬੋਲੀ ਦੇ ਅਗੇਤਰਾਂ ਪਿਛੇਤਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ।

੩. ਬੋਲੀ ਦੀ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਤਾਮਕ ਰੁਚੀ

੪. ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਇਕ ਭਾਗ ਚੋਂ ਦੂਜੇ ਭਾਗ ਵਿਚ ਜਾਣ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨ ਬੋਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਮਿਲਾਵਟ

੫. ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਅਰਬੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ

ਉਤੇ ਦਸਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਸੀ ਜਿਸਨੇ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੂੰ ਜਨਮ ਦਿਤਾ । ਉਹ ਭਾਗ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਕਿ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਸਾਹਿਤਕ ਬੋਲੀ ਸੀ, ਭਾਰਤੀ ਬਿਆਲ-ਪ੍ਰਣਾਲੀ ਦਾ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਸੀ, ਜਿਥੇ ਕਿ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਵੱਖ ਵੱਖ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਸੰਤ ਭਗਤ ਆਪਣੀ ਆਤਮਕ ਖੁਰਾਕ ਲਈ ਜੁੜਿਆ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ । ਯੋਗੀ, ਰਾਮਾਨੰਦ, ਕਬੀਰ, ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਇਸ ਭਾਗ ਦੇ ਸਾਧੂਆਂ ਤੇ ਪੰਡਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲੇ । ਇਹ ਭਾਗ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਵਾਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਸੀ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਕਿ ਲੋਕ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਤਸਮ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦਿਤੇ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਜੇ ਇਹ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਬੋਲੀ ਜਾਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਰਹੀ ਸੀ ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦਾ ਕੇਂਦਰੀ ਭਾਗ ਹੀ ਸੀ ਜਿਸਨੂੰ ਸ਼ੋਰਸੈਨ ਕਿਹਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਸੀ । ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਅਜ ਕਲ ਦਾ ਮਥਰਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਸਦੇ ਆਲੇ ਦੁਆਲੇ ਦਾ ਇਲਾਕਾ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹੈ । ਤਦਭਵ ਤਾਂ ਅਗੇ ਹੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਤੇ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਆ ਗਏ ਸਨ । ਇਸ ਲਈ ਇਕ ਅਜਿਹੀ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਬਣ ਗਈ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਕਿ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਕ ਪਿਛੇਤਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਕ੍ਰਿਆ-ਰੂਪਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਸੀ । ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਸੋਲ੍ਹਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਤਕ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਭਗਤੀ ਲਹਿਰ ਦਾ ਬਲ ਘਟਦਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ ।

ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਤੇ ਭਗਤੀ ਲਹਿਰ ਅੰਤਰ-ਸਬੰਧਤ ਹਨ । ਭਗਤੀ ਲਹਿਰ ਦੇ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਣ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਈ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਤਕ ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਰਚਨਾ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਰਹੀ, ਜਦ ਤਕ ਭਗਤੀ ਲਹਿਰ ਵਿਚ ਬਲ ਰਿਹਾ । ਇਹ ਦਸਣਾ ਵੀ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਭਗਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ । ਕੇਵਲ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਵੱਖ ਵੱਖ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਦੇ ਧਾਰਮਕ-ਆਗੂਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲੇ । ਮਿਸਾਲ ਵਜੋਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਦਾ ਵਡਾ ਭਾਗ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਰਚਿਆ ਪਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ, ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਨੇ ਕੇਵਲ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਬੋਲੀ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਕੀਤੀ ।

(੧੭੫)

ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵੀ ਬਣਤਰ ਬਾਰੇ ਸਪਸ਼ਟ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਜਾਣਨ ਲਈ ਅਸੀਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ :—

ਆਨਦ ਰੇਗ ਬਿਨੋਦ ਹਮਾਰੈ ।

ਨਾਮੋ ਗਾਵਨੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵਨੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪ੍ਰਾਨ ਅਧਾਰੈ ।੧। ਰਹਾਉ ।

ਨਾਮੋ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਇਸਨਾਨਾ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਕਾਰਜ ਸਵਾਰੈ ।

ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੋ ਸੋਭਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਬਡਾਈ ਭਉਜਲ ਬਿਖਮ ਨਾਮੁ ਹਰਿ ਤਾਰੈ ।੨।

ਅਗਮ ਪਦਾਰਥ ਲਾਲ ਅਮੋਲਾ ਭਇਉ ਪਰਾਪਤਿ ਗੁਰ ਚਰਨਾਰੈ ।

ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਭਏ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲਾ ਮਗਨ ਭਏ ਹੀਅਰੈ ਦਰਸਾਰੈ ।੨। (ਕਾਨੜਾ ਮ: ੫)
ਉਪਰਲੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਵਿਚ ਵਰਤੇ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਦਾ ਨਿਕਾਸ :—

੧. ਤਤਸਮ :—ਰੰਗ, ਗਿਆਨ, ਹਰਿ, ਪਦਾਰਥ, ਪਰਾਪਤਿ. ਗੁਰ, ਪ੍ਰਭ, ਮਗਨ

੨. ਤਦਭਵ :—ਆਨਦ (ਆਨੰਦ; ਬਿਨੋਦ (ਵਿਨੋਦ; ਨਾਮ (ਨਾਮਨ; ਗਾਵਨ (ਗਾਯਨ;

ਧਿਆਵਨ (ਧਿਆਨ; ਪ੍ਰਾਨ (ਪ੍ਰਾਣ; ਅਧਾਰੈ (ਆਧਾਰੈ; ਇਸਨਾਨ (ਸਨਾਨ;

ਕਾਰਜ (ਕਾਰਯ; ਸੋਭਾ (ਸ਼ੋਭਾ; ਬਡਾਈ (ਬਡ; ਭਉਜਲ (ਭਵਜਲ; ਬਿਖਮ (ਵਿਖਮ;

ਤਾਰੈ (ਤ੍ਰੀ; ਅਗਮ (ਅਗਮਯ; ਅਮੋਲਾ (ਅਮੁਲਯ; ਭਇਉ (ਭੂ; ਚਰਨਾਰੈ (ਚਰਣ;

ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲਾ (ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲੂ; ਹੀਅਰੈ (ਹ੍ਰਿਦਯ; ਦਰਸਾਰੈ (ਦਰਸ

ਫਾਰਸੀ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ :—ਹਮਾਰੈ, ਨਾਮ, ਲਾਲ (ਲਾਲ)

੪. ਦੇਸ਼ੀ—ਸਵਾਰੈ, ਕਹੁ

ਦੁਹਰਾਏ ਗਏ ਅਤੇ ਨਿਕਾਸੀ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਕੇ ਉਪਰਲੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਵਿਚ ੩੪ ਲਫਜ਼ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ੮ ਤਤਸਮ ਹਨ, ੨੧ ਤਦਭਵ, ਤਿੰਨ ਫਾਰਸੀ ਦੇ ਅਤੇ ਦੋ ਦੇਸ਼ੀ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਤਦਭਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੀ। ਇਹਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਤਤਸਮ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਵੀ ਸਨ। ਕਾਰਨ ਉਤੇ ਦਸਿਆ ਜਾ ਚੁਕਾ ਹੈ। ਫਾਰਸੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਵੀ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਪ-ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਉਤੇ ਪੈ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ। ਚੌਹਦਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਦੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਵਿਚ ਫਾਰਸੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਪ੍ਰਤਖ ਹੈ। ਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਵੀ ਸਨ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਇੰਨੇ ਵਿਗੜ ਚੁਕੇ ਸਨ ਕਿ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਧਾਤੂ ਲਭਣਾ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਸੀ। ਤਦਭਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਤਦਭਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਣਤਰ ਦਾ ਨਿਰਭਰ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਜਾਂ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੀ ਵਿਆਕਰਣ ਤੇ ਨਿਰਭਰ ਸੀ।

ਉਪਰਲੇ ਤਦਭਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਨਾਲ ਵੇਖਿਆਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਬਣਤਰ-ਗੁਣ ਵੀ ਅਗੇ ਲਿਆਂਦੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ, ਜਿਵੇਂ ਯ) ਜ, ਵ) ਬ ਅਤੇ ਸ) ਸ। ਇਹ ਉਤੇ ਦਸਿਆ ਜਾ ਚੁਕਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਸੋਮਾ ਸੀ। ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ੌਰਸੈਨੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵੀ ਸੀ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਕਿ ਪਛਮੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦੀ ਜਨਮਦਾਤਾ ਮੰਨੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨਾਲ ਨੇੜੇ ਦਾ ਸਬੰਧ ਹੈ। ਉਹ ਕੇਵਲ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵਖ ਹਨ। ਧਾਰਮਕ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਤੋਂ ਭਾਵ ਉਸ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਤੋਂ ਹੈ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਕਿ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਗੋਸ਼ਠੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਵਰਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਤਤਸਮ ਅਤੇ ਤਦਭਵ ਸਨ, ਖਾਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਤਦਭਵ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਣਤਰ ਦੇ ਜ਼ਿਮੇਵਾਰ ਆਮ ਲੋਕ ਸਨ।

(੧੭੬)

ਅਸਲ ਵਿਚ, ਸ਼ੋਰਸੈਣੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਨੇ ਹੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਦੀ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੂੰ ਜਨਮ ਦਿਤਾ। ਪਰ ਮਗਰੋਂ ਅੰਦਰਲੇ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਲੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੋ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਵਟ ਗਈ : ਪਛਮੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ। ਇਸ ਥਾਂ ਇਹ ਕਿਹਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਪਛਮੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦਾ ਸੋਮਾ ਬਣ ਗਈ। ਪਛਮੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਤਾਂ ਇਸਲਾਮ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਦਾ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਬਣਦਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਧਰਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਾਧੂਆਂ ਨੇ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਫੈਲਾਈ। ਜਿਥੇ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਤੋਂ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਲੈਕੇ ਅਮੀਰ ਬਣ ਰਹੀ ਸੀ, ਉਥੇ ਪਛਮੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੋਲੇ ਹੋਲੇ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਤੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਤ ਹੋ ਰਹੀ ਸੀ, ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਕਾਂਸ਼ੀ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਵਾਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਸੀ। ਉਰਦੂ ਦਾ ਜਨਮ ਵੀ ਪਛਮੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਨਵੀਂ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਦੇ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਸੰਤ-ਕਵੀਆਂ ਉਤੇ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦਾ ਵਧੀਕ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਪੈ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ।

ਭਾਵੇਂ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਵਖ ਵਖ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਵੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕੀਤੀ, ਪਰ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਕਾਰਕ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯ ਅਤੇ ਪਰਸਰਗ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਬੋਲੀ ਦੇ ਹੀ ਵਰਤੇ। ਪਰਸਰਗ ਕਾ ਅਤੇ ਅਪੂਰਣ ਕਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯ—ਤਾ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਰਚਨਾ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਕੀਤੀ। ਇਹ ਪਛਮੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਤਾਈਆਂ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗ੍ਰਹਿਣ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ ਸੀ। ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਵਿਚ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਹਾਲਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਦਾ ਦੀ ਹੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਸੰਜੋਗਾਤਮਕ ਸੀ। ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਗਾਤਮਕ ਬੋਲੀ ਸੀ। ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣਾਂ ਦੇ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿਚ ਆਉਣ ਨਾਲ ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਪੈਣਾ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ।

ਅਸੀਂ ਜਾਣਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਅਰਬੀ ਦੇ ਲਫਜ਼ ਲਿਆਂਦੇ ਅਤੇ ਕੁਝ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਵੀ ਲਿਖੇ। ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਵੀ ਇਸ ਲੋਕ-ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਰਾਗ ਤਿਲੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਹਨ। ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਤੇ ਅਰਬੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਕਵੀਆਂ ਉਤੇ ਉਸ ਹਦ ਤਕ ਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਹਦ ਤਕ ਕਿ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਮੇਲ ਜੋਲ ਸੀ। ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਅਰਬੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਉਦਾਹਰਣ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਦਿਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ। :—

ਅਲਹ ਅਗਮ ਖੁਦਾਈ ਬੰਦੇ। ਛੋਡਿ ਖਿਆਲ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਕੇ ਧੰਦੇ

ਹੋਇ ਪੈਖਾਕ ਫਕੀਰ ਮੁਸਾਫਰ ਇਹ ਦਰਵੇਸ਼ ਕਬੂਲੁ ਦਰਾ।੧।

(ਮਾਰੂ ਮ: ੫)

ਅਲਾ, ਖੁਦਾਈ, ਬੰਦੇ, ਪੈਖਾਕ, ਦਰਵੇਸ਼, ਦਰਾ ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ, ਫਕੀਰ, ਮੁਸਾਫਰ, ਕਬੂਲੁ ਅਰਬੀ ਦੇ।

ਆਦਿ ਗਰੰਥ ਦਾ ਵਡੇਰਾ ਭਾਗ ਸੰਤ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਪਛਮੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਵੀ ਹਨ। ਕਬੀਰ ਦੇ ਕਈ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ। ਰਵਿਦਾਸ, ਧੰਨਾ, ਸੈਨ, ਪੀਪਾ ਅਤੇ ਭੀਖਨ ਦੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਉਤੇ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਹੈ। ਭੱਟਾਂ ਨੇ ਵੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਰਚਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਵੀ। ਪਰ ਭੱਟਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਉਤੇ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਹੈ।

ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਕਈ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਹਨ ਜਿਥੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਜਪਜੀ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੇ

(੧੭੭)

ਜੇਤਸਰੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਵੀ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਉਪ-ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਸਵਾਦਲਾ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਹਰ ਪਉੜੀ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਦੋ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਹਨ। ਪਉੜੀ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ, ਪਹਿਲਾ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਸਹਸਕ੍ਰਿਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਜਾ ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ।

ਸਾਰੇ ਆਦਿ ਗਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਤਖ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਸੰਤ ਕਵੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਨਾਲ ਆਪਣੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਵਿਚ ਮਾਤ ਬੋਲੀ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਕੁਝ ਛੋਟਾਂ ਵੀ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਉਹ ਹਨ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਵਿਚ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਜਰਵਾਣਿਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿਚ ਆਏ ਸੂਫੀ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਉਤੇ ਭਾਰਤ ਦੀ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਨਾ ਪੈ ਸਕਿਆ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਕਵਿਤਾ ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖੀ। ਸ਼ੇਖ ਫਰੀਦ ਨੇ ਵੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖੀ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੁਝ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ :—

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਅਖੀਂ ਦੇਖਿ ਪਤੀਣੀਆਂ ਸੁਣਿ ਸੁਣਿ ਰੀਣੇ ਕੰਨ।

ਸਾਖ ਪਕੰਦੀ ਆਈਆ ਹੋਰ ਕਰੇਂਦੀ ਵੰਨ। ੧੧।

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਬੀਉ ਪਵਾਹੀ ਦਭੁ। ਜੇ ਸਾਂਈ ਲੋੜਹਿ ਸਭੁ।

ਇਕ ਛਿਜਹਿ ਬਿਆ ਲਤਾੜੀਅਹਿ। ਤਾਂ ਸਾਈ ਦੈ ਦਰਿ ਵਾੜੀਅਹਿ। ੧੬।

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਜੰਗਲੁ ਜੰਗਲੁ ਕਿਆ ਭਵਹਿ ਵਣ ਕੰਡਾ ਮੋੜੇਹਿ।

ਵਸੀ ਰਬੁ ਹਿਆਲੀਐ ਜੰਗਲੁ ਕਿਆ ਚੂਢੇਹਿ। ੧੯।

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਇਨੀ ਨਿਕੀ ਜੰਘੀਐ ਬਲ ਭੁੰਗਰ ਭਵਿਓਮਿ।

ਅਸੁ ਫਰੀਦੈ ਕੁਜੜਾ ਸੈ ਕੋਹਾਂ ਬੀਓਮਿ। ੨੦।

ਪਹਿਲੇ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਣਤਰ :—

ਅਖੀਂ (ਅਕਸ਼ੀ); ਦੇਖਿ-ਦੇਸ਼ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਬਦ; ਪਤੀਣੀਆ-ਦੇਸ਼ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਬਦ; ਸੁਣਿ (ਸੁਣਣ; ਰੀਣੇ (ਰਿਣ; ਕੰਨ (ਕਰਣ; ਸਾਖ (ਸ਼ਾਖ (ਫਾਰਸੀ), ਪਕੰਦੀ (ਪਚ; ਆਈਆ ਦੇਸ਼-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਬਦ; ਹੋਰ (ਪ੍ਰਾਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਵਰ (ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਪਰ; ਕਰੇਂਦੀ—ਕਰ ਕਿਰਿਆ ਦਾ ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਰੂਪ; ਵੰਨ (ਵਰਣ।

ਉਪਰ ਦਿਤੇ ਸ਼ੇਖ ਫਰੀਦ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਤਤਸਮ ਨਹੀਂ। ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਤਦਭਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਮੁਢਲੇ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਕੋਈ ਮੇਲ ਨਹੀਂ। ਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਹੈ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਜਾਂ ਤਾਂ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਹਨ ਜਾਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਵਿਗੜੇ ਹੋਏ। ਫਾਰਸੀ ਦਾ ਕੁਝ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਹੈ।

ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਦੇ ਕਈ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਹਨ। ਕੁਝ ਹੋਰ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਡਖਣੇ ਨਾਂ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਵੀ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ। ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਵਰਤੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਦਖਣ ਦੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਭਾਵ ਸਿੰਧੀ ਹੈ। ਕੁਝ ਉਦਾਹਰਣ :—

ਡਖਣੇ ਮ: ਪ ਮ: ਪ ਤੂ ਚਉ ਸਜਣ ਮੈਭਿਆ ਡੇਈ ਸਿਸੁ ਉਤਾਰਿ।

ਨੈਣ ਮਹਿੰਜੇ ਤਰਸਦੇ ਕਦਿ ਪਸੀ ਦੀਦਾਰ। ੧।

ਮ: ਪ ਨੀਹੁ ਮਹਿੰਜਾ ਤਉ ਨਾਲਿ ਬਿਆ ਨੇਹ ਕੂੜਾਵੇ ਡੇਖੁ।

ਕਪੜ ਭੋਗ ਭਰਾਵਣੇ ਜਿਚਰ ਪਿਰੀ ਨ ਡੇਖ। ੨।

ਮ: ਪ ਉਠੀ ਬਾਲੂ ਕੰਤੜੇ ਹਉ ਪਸੀ ਤਉ ਦੀਦਾਰ।

ਕਾਜਲੁ ਹਾਰੁ ਤਮੋਲ ਰਸ ਬਿਨੁ ਪਸੇ ਹਭਿ ਰਸ ਛਾਰੁ। ੩।

(ਵਾਰ ਮਾਰੂ ਮ: ਪ)

(੧੭੮)

ਜਿਥੇ ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਲੋਕ ਸ਼ੇਖ ਫ਼ਰੀਦ, ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ, ਭਖਣੇ ਕੇਵਲ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਹਨ। ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ, ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੰਧੀ ਦੇ ਤੁਲਨਾਤਮਕ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਤੋਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੰਧੀ ਦੋ ਭੈਣਾਂ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਨਾਲ ਨੇੜੇ ਦਾ ਸਾਕ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੰਧੀ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦੇ ਵਧੀਕ ਨੇੜੇ ਹੈ। ਸਿੰਧੀ ਵਿਚ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦਾ 'ਦ' 'ਡ' ਵਿਚ ਅਤੇ 'ਸ' 'ਹ' ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ, ਪੂਰਬੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼, ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼, ਮਰਾਠੀ, ਹਿੰਦੀ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ, ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ, ਲਹਿੰਦੀ ਸਿੰਧੀ, ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ, ਅਰਬੀ ਤੋਂ ਛੁਟ ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਰ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯ ਵੀ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਮਨਦੀ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਹੈ, ਹੰਬੈ ਮਾਰਵਾੜੀ ਦਾ, ਪਿਰਾਨ ਬਾਂਗਰੂ ਦਾ, ਓਲਗੀਆ ਦਖਣੀ ਦਾ ਅਤੇ ਲਵੇ ਜਾਂਗਲੀ ਦਾ। ਆਵਾ, ਸਮਝਾਵਾ, ਰਹਾਵਾ ਨਾਲ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਪਿਛੇਤਰ 'ਵਾ' ਅਵਧੀ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਸ਼ਾਸ਼ਾ ਹੈ।

ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਕ ਸਾਂਝੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਸੰਤ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਲਈ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਜੜ੍ਹਾਂ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਪਛਮੀ ਅਪਭ੍ਰੰਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਹਨ, ਪਰ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਕਿ ਕਈ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਤ ਹੈ। ਕਈ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਉਪ-ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਹੋਣ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨ ਕਈ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਯ ਤੇ ਸਬੰਧਕ ਵੀ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦਾ ਦਾ, ਹਿੰਦੀ ਦਾ ਕਾ, ਸਿੰਧੀ ਦਾ ਸੰਦਾ ਆਦਿ। ਸੰਤ-ਕਵੀ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਵਖ ਵਖ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਰਚਨ ਕਰਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਉਤੇ ਕਈ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਪਿਆ। ਇਹੋ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਕ ਪਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਕਈ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦੇ ਵਿਖਾਈ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਹਨ।

ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਵਰਤੀ ਗਈ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਨਾਲ ਵੇਖਿਆਂ ਇਹ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਵਰਤੇ ਗਏ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਅਥਵਾ ਵਿਗੜੇ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ। ਗਲ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਵਖ ਵਖ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਉਪ-ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਬਣ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਸਨ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਾਹਿਤਕ ਪੱਧਰ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ। ਉਹ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਜਾਣ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਸਨ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਆਮ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਭਿੰਨ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਸੀ। ਇਕ ਤਾਂ ਕਵੀ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਵਲੀ ਵਰਤੀ ਲੋਕ-ਕਵੀ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਤੌਲ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਇਮ ਰਖਣ ਲਈ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਵੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀ ਲੋੜ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਤਰੇੜ ਮਰੇੜ ਲਿਆ।

GENESIS AND GROWTH OF SINDHI LANGUAGE

by

K.B. Khushalani, B.E.

Director, Central Water and Power Commission, New Delhi.

Even before partition, Sind, though an integral part of India, on account of Rajputana deserts on its east and Run of Kutch on the south, had practically an isolated existence. It lacked the contact along long border lines, that many other provinces of India had. Though undoubtedly it had a short common border with Punjab, yet on account of its long association with the Bombay presidency to which it was attached before 1936, Sindhis had acquired commercial connections with the latter. The meagre communications, Sind had with India, were through the two railway lines—Jodhpur-Bikaner on the east and North-Western on the North—and by sea on the South. The post-partition aftermath virtually smoked out the Sindhi Hindus from their parental abode. They are now scattered all over this country though their larger concentration is in Bombay, Rajasthan and Delhi.

2. After partition the influx of refugees from Sind caused numerous queries about their language—

Is not Sindhi derived from Persian or Arabic ?

Is it not written in Arabic characters ?

Is it not written from right to left ?

Though Sindhi is nearer to the Sanskritical stock than any other Indian language and despite the influence of Persian and Arabic it has maintained purity which is unknown among any other North Indian languages, yet, as sufficient knowledge about the genesis and nature of Sindhi language is not known even to Sindhis, much less to non-Sindhis, in this article an attempt is made at clearing the mist which shrouds it.

3. To understand clearly the origin of Sindhi and its relationship with the neighbouring languages it will be necessary to look back pretty deep into the ancient history of India and of its languages. Quite contrary to the common belief that all the Indian languages are derived from Sanskrit which is not precisely the truth, it may be said that the foundation of them all is Prakrit which is the source of even Sanskrit.

4. Whether the Aryans are the original dwellers of India or the immigrants is still a controversial subject and will probably remain so for some time but no doubt has ever been cast on the Indus valley being their first abode in India. From this Sindhu valley which lends the name to India, spread out the Aryan culture. With their advance towards East the geographical centre of their settlements went on shifting, throwing the Indus valley on one side. Their Eastern settlements began to vie with the sapta sindhava, Indus valley, for prominence until the attraction began to be concentrated on Saurasen or the Western part of the present Uttar Pradesh.

While the Aryan habitations began to spread, the language in different regions, as was but natural, began to vary. This was the time of growth and individualising of the language.

5. In spite of the facts that the Panchangs, Almanacs clearly state the Kaliyuga age year to year, that it has been stated in the Bhagavat Puran that Kali age started after demise of Lord Krishna and that He lived in the end of Dwapur, yet there is no dearth of controversialists even against the date of Mahabharat war in which Krishna was the prominent figure. It has therefore been thought wise not to enter into the tangle of dates at least for this paper, the subject matter of which can tolerate omission of this subject.

Origin of Sindhu

6. **Prakrit**—According to some, Prakrit is of later origin than Sanskrit, which is considered as the systematized form of the vedic language. Dictionary gives two meanings of Prakrit, one 'natural' and the other 'unrefined'. The word Prakrit being derived from Prakriti, the former appears to be the original and the latter the required meaning. The writer therefore is inclined to agree with Grierson that Prakrit was the original Indo-Aryan language and that the word Prakrit may be deemed as the general term applied to the languages of the North Indian continent prevalent and contemporary to Sanskrit. It seems there were two principal groups of the ancient Indo-Aryan dialect or the Primary Prakrit.

- (i) The language of Middleland or Arya Vart and
- (ii) The outer band of language.

7. **Sanskrit**—The middleland language got crystallised into literary form known as Sanskrit and its rules of grammar were codified by the well known grammarian Panini whose age has been fixed by the Westerners as 430 B.C., but he may have lived much earlier.

8. **Secondary Prakrits**—The primary prakrits continued to develop their own laws of phonetics and as a result of general tendency of the people to simplify harsh combinations of consonant and broad diphthongs without material change in declension and conjugation, reached the secondary stage even in the middleland. The vernaculars did not disappear but went on developing along with the primary prakrits but the presence of Sanskrit, the literary standard style, retarded the growth of the vernacular in Ganga Jamuna Doab, so much so that the former became the language of the elite whereas the rest spoke the vernacular. The excellent example of existence of the two languages is furnished by Kalidasa's Shakuntala in which the Brahmins, the literates, the heroes and the people of rank speak in Sanskrit while others and women express themselves in the secondary prakrit of the region. The secondary prakrits developed their own literature and one of them Pali became the sacred language of the Buddhists.

9. **Prakrishta Prakrits (Prakrits-Par Excellence)**—Later on several of the secondary prakrits began to be generally used for new sacred as well as profane literature. As many as three of them were used

by Jainism for propagation of its religious literature. The latter stage of the secondary prakrits reached high standard and therefore they came to be known as Prakrits par-excellence but as grammarians fixed their forms, as literary languages they ceased to grow, while as vernaculars they continued their own course. But as the vernaculars did not conform to the fixed rules of grammar, they were looked upon as corruptions and earned the name of Apabhramsas. These Apabhramsas again in their turn obtained high stage through literary cultivation but in course of time became stereotyped. The vernaculars on the other hand entered the tertiary stage to develop as the modern Aryan languages of which Sindhi is one.

10. The history of these languages reminds how in the earlier days both in India and other countries including Europe, the sense of superiority dominated in every walk of life. There was superiority of race, superiority of birth, superiority of profession, superiority of abode etc. In England townsman calls himself Cockney. In India the city dwellers considered their language as refined and dubbed the language of villagers as corruptions, even though the vernaculars were the natural outcome of the process of simplification.

The very efforts of the Grammarians to keep Sanskrit and prakrits-par-excellence in the pure state, branding every other shade as corruption prevented their growth and ultimately threw them in the back ground as classic languages not spoken by anybody.

11. In the Secondary Prakrits are seen a middle land language known as Sauraseni from Sauresena, the name applied to the country near Mathura and the dialects of outer band. The former was the language for the regions round about Gangetic Doabs extending on the west to as far as Lahore and on the east up to Benaras, the confluence of Yamuna with the Ganges. It got carried to Rajputana and Gujrat by political conquests. But the progress of Sauraseni was hampered by the existence of its great neighbour Sanskrit. However, since both have sprung from the primary Prakrit of the middle land or Arya Vart, but for small phonetic changes in their vocabulary they are nearly akin. On the other hand the Prakrits of outer band have greater affinity for each other than for Saureseni. These are Magadhi, Ardha Maghadi, Marathi and an unnamed Prakriti of North West Regions of India.

12. It is also conjectured that corresponding to each Prakriti there was an Apabhramsa. Thus in addition to Sauraseni there were Magadha, Ardha Magadha and Maharashtra Apabhramsas. The present languages are the direct descendants of these Apabhramsas.

Enclosed chart explains the various stages of development of the North Indian Languages.

13. Kashmiri, Lahanda (the language of West) and Sindhi, of which the latter two are more closely connected with each other, belong to North Western group of the outer band of Indo Aryan languages. Sindhi is directly derived from Vracada Apabhramsa but the Apabhramsa from which Kashmiri and Lahanda are derived does not seem to have individualised to receive a name, but it must be intimately associated with Vracada.

Perhaps because brothers and sisters have more similarity of character and form with each other on account of full blood, than what children can have with either of their parents, Sindhi being an outer or a sister language that separated earlier, has retained more of the phonetical and declension forms of Prakrit and on that score claims greater affiliation to Sanskrit than even its direct descendents.

Here are some references that testify to that fact.

"The language of the Province, Sindhi, though it bears many marks of Arabic and Persian influence and is written in Persio-Arabic script, is nearer the original Sanskrit than any other Indian language in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent (India and Pakistan Year Book and Who's Who 1952-53).

"The Sindhi is a pure Sanskritical language more free from foreign elements than any other of the North Indian vernaculars." (E. Trump).

"Sindhi has preserved many phonetic and grammatical peculiarities, which have disappeared elsewhere and is a typical example of the Outer languages." (G.A. Grierson).

14. At one time the borders of Sind extended beyond Multan on one side and included Kutch on the other. Thus people of Multan and Bahawalpur speak language more akin to Sindhi than to Punjabi. Outside Sind in many places a Multani was understood to be a Sindhi. There is even at present a Dharmashala in Bombay, that admits only Multanis and in the definition of Multanis, Sindhis are included.

Kutchi language of Kutch is an important dialect of Sindhi, but as it came into contact with Gujrati, it has got slight touches of that language.

Sindhi Literature

15. Not many traces of the literature of Sind that existed before the Arab invasion in 711 A.D. are left. During the early Muslim period no literature seems to have been produced in Sindhi language. Later on men like Shah Abdul Latif who happened to come in contact with Hindu saints and imbibed the ideas of Hindu philosophy, began to propagate tolerance. Obtaining inspiration from the poets of rest of India, the Sindhi poets began to sing in their own language. The Sindhi epoch of renaissance which followed the European and Indian periods, found poets of high calibre like—

Abdul Karim	Sixteenth Century.
Shah Abdul Latif	1689-1753
Sachal	1739-1826
Chainrai	1743-1830
Dalpat & Rohal	17th & 18th centuries.

It reached its culmination during days of Abdul Latif who and Chain Rai are the best known of all. The former's book known as Shah-jo-Raslo is very widely read by both Hindus and Mohammedans, while Chain Rai's poetry,—dedicated to his (Guru) preceptor Sami and known as Sami-Ja-Salok, though of very high calibre is read only by Sadhus, the seekers of divine path and men with a religious bent. Sami-Ja

Salok, four line couplets extend to 2800 in number. The original manuscript was available only in Gurumukhi characters. They, as aptly put by the poet himself in one of his verses, narrate the Vedantic philosophy in Sindhi language. Shah's popularity arises from the variety of his themes both mundane and divine while Sami never descends from the spiritual plane.

As should be expected of the older writers, only the poets are popular but in the field of current literature both poets and the prose writers flourish.

Alphabet

How is it that a language so directly descended from the Prakrit family is written in Arabic characters? The earlier wave of Muslim conquerors reached Sind, nearly three centuries before they came to the Indian mainland. It continued to remain under Muslim rule until the British conquered it, though some dynasties like Soomras and Samas were from the Rajput stock. Persian was the court language under the Mirs, the last dynasty before the British conquest, the Hindus employed in service under the Muslim rule were also Persian scholars. The mass of the people who were Mohamedans were illiterate but the Hindu traders and shopkeepers wrote in Butta script and there were also some who had specialised in Hindi and Sanskrit.

After the British entered Sind on 18th February, 1843 they found three types of scripts being used. One was the Deva Nagari taught in the Pathshalas, the second was Butta or incomplete of the business men, so named because no vowels were used and the third Persian taught in Madrasas. Whether Butta is developed through a process of simplification or preceded the 'Sindh-matric' i.e. complete with vowels, is rather difficult to say but as will be explained later the development of numerals from the Butta is a pointer to their existence before the Dev Nagari or even Brahmi from which the Deva Nagri sprang up. Otherwise too the archaeological explorations in Egypt have shown that the Heiroglyphic came first. Vowels may thus be only a subsequent addition. Some time the Butta letters were also vowelised out, that seems to be a latter refinement.

For the sake of uniformity one of three alphabets had to be selected. Adoption of Butta was out of question. The controversy that arose was only between the Persian and Deva Nagari. Being in a dilemma what script to adopt the British left the choice to the 'Kamoras' the service men who favoured Persio-Arabic characters that they knew. The former was patronised by Captain George Stach and the latter by Sir Richard Burton.

Ultimately the decision came as an award from the court of Directors of East India Company in 1853.

As Arabic alphabet had only 28 letters it was not sufficient for the larger variety of Sindhi pronunciations. So by a process of adaptation and invention, they laid down a Sindhi alphabet of 52 letters, 9 out of which represent only a minor shade of difference in sound. Most non-Sindhis

can hardly pronounce all the letters of the Sindhi alphabet which is phonetically rich.

The business men continued the use of Butta in their books and still write from left to right.

It is said that Sindhi alphabet is unscientific but to say that English alphabet is more scientific even than Devanagari, is again surprising. Devanagari characters are arranged according to sounds. On the basis of this, Europe also fixed phonetical rules for the letters later on. Devanagari script admits of only one reading whereas some of the words of all the European languages—unless one knows their pronunciation—can be read differently by different men. There are only six letters which are compelled to play the acrobatic part of pronouncing all the vowels, of which there are thirteen in number.

The only disadvantage of the Devanagari letters is that they are cumbersome to write, on the other hand while writing the English script one need not lift the pen except for crossing 't's and dotting 'i's. Some writers cross the 't's without lifting the pen. Thus only 'i's cause the interruption.

The difficulty of writing Devanagari letters was realised by the ancients and they had a simple form of writing both with and without vowels. The prevalence of the latter earned for the former the title Sidhamatrika which means correctly vowelled. The latter are called 'Lunda' or tailles, in Punjab, 'Butta' or earless in Sindh meaning short or vowelless. Devanagari characters are capable of further simplification and when so rendered can be the most scientific.

Sindhi alphabet like Arabic and Persian is most cumbersome to write because not only for vowels but even for providing dots to the letters, 34 out of 52 needing them, the pen has to be lifted. All the vowels are therefore omitted and the hand written script suffers from the same defect of offering varied reading to the beginner.

But in these days of printing and typewriting machines which have considerably curtailed the writing work, not much significance need be attached to the cumbersomeness of alphabet in writing.

At present Sindhi is being taught in schools in Bombay in Arabic script and in Delhi in Hindi character. Though there is a natural affinity for alphabet to which the people are accustomed yet complete reversion to the Devanagari script is only a matter of time. We have therefore to find the Devanagari equivalents for the extras in Sindhi alphabet. Out of 52 letters, two Alif and Hamza can be looked after by the vowels. Thirty two letters have already got their counterparts in Devanagari. Of the balance 18, 4 are pure Sindhi letters not found in any other language except in Punjabi which has one and in Gujrati which has another. One more belongs to prakrit but is prevalent in other Indian languages. The remaining 13 are pure Arabic letters of which 3 are already current in Hindi. These three along with one prakrit letter are being written with a dot below other letters of nearly the same sound. Nine Arabic letters denote only a wee bit phonetic difference from the rest already discussed and hence redundant, leaving only one more to be cared for.

At present while writing Sindhi in Devanagari these nine extra letters carry either dots or lines below to distinguish them from their simulants. Since as already explained dots and strokes are cumbersome and mere provisos, finding permanent forms for additional sounds is essential.

Each new letter should be such that it could be easily distinguished from the rest and should be capable of being linked with its simulant.

Table below gives all the letters both in Arbi-Sindhi and Devanagari.

Numerals

How the Devnagri, European and Arabic numerals came to assume the form in which they are written was once an enigma to the writer. Why were one, two, three, four etc. written in the manner they are, why not in any other way? No other Indian language not even the Marathi which is very near to Prakrit though not so close to it as Sindhi but far more developed than it nor even the printed or written forms of their alphabets, afforded any clue which ultimately was found in the 'Butta' letters of Sindhi in which the business books of Sindhi traders are written.

The writer thinks that except 1, 2 and 3 which seem to have sprung up from 1, 2 and 3 lines, the remaining are the first or the last letters of their written pronunciation. Thus Cha has been used for Chhattur or Char; Pa for Panch or five; Chha for Chhah; Shash or six; Ta for sat, Sapta or seven; Tha for Ath or Ashtha or eight; and va for nava or nine. Da for Do or two is also written like two. The following chart illustrates this point.

The 'Lunda' script used in Punjab has some letters like the Butta employed by Sindhis. With the change in alphabet the Devanagari numerals were also replaced by the Arabic.

The common belief in Europe that these numerals came from Arabs is fallacious. It is argued by some that because they went from India to Arabia and from Arabia to Europe, the European named them as Arabic numerals, but even that is not quite true. The chart shows that the numerals written in Europe are more akin to their Devanagari equivalents than to the Arabic.

Actually the Arabic numerals have been adopted by turning the Devanagari figures through a right angle so as to suit their writing from right to left. The clue to these signs is available in scripts used in Sindhu valley. This shows that probably these scripts developed earliest of all.

The phonetical forms are also retained by Sindhi. The other languages have also lost many of the original declension forms while Sindhi still retains many of them. The Sindhi tenses are declined not only with the subject but with the indirect object. They are also declined with gender both of the subject as well as of the direct object.

Another peculiarity of the Sindhi language is a larger replacement of consonants in declension by others of the same class, either with the object of giving emphasis or for better pronunciation.

Inspite of Arabic and Persian contacts the Sindhi language has not absorbed more words from them than some of the other languages of India, like Urdu, Bihari and Hindi. The reason for this is two fold, one is that no important literature was produced in Sindhi during Muslim period until only 300 years back and the other is that the difficult grammar of Sindhi has delayed absorption of foreign words which have to undergo changes before they got acclimatised.

Sindhi has also the advantage of possessing in large number of cases both the Sindhi and prakrit forms of words which give it the variety and flexibility much needed by poets just as Sajan Sājan, Añjan etc.

Sindhi is thus a living link between the outer bands of Indian languages. It is also a cross link between Central Prakrit Hindi and Sanskrit. Thus it is of great value to linguists and etymologists.

GENESIS AND GROWTH OF SINDHI LANGUAGE

SUMMARY

Being the western most province and separated from rest of India by Rajasthan deserts even before partition Sind led an isolated existence. As a result of partition almost all Hindus had to migrate from Sind and take shelter in India. There is a natural curiosity about the origin of Sindhi language especially as it is written in Arabic characters. Inspite of Persian and Arabic influence Sindhi has maintained a purity not found in other North Indian languages.

The writer agrees with Grierson that Sindhi like other North Indian languages is derived from Prakrit and on the basis of his analysis has at length explained its connection with other languages. Sindhi is direct descendant of Vracada Apabhramsa which is derived from a secondary prakrit prevalent in North Western region. The various secondary prakrits of Indian continent and Sanskrit have themselves developed from the primary prakrit of the country.

Not much is left of the Sindhi literature of pre Mohammedan period. Early during the Muslim rule all the literature that came out was mostly in Persian. It is only from sixteenth century onwards that real literature in Sindhi language began to be produced. The best known poets of that period are Shah Abdul Latif and Chaim Rai.

Originally Sindhi was written in Deva Nagari characters. During Muslim rule there was emphasis on Persian alphabet and Persian language. When the British came, they after consulting the literates of the country decided on Persio-Arabic or what is locally called Arbi-Sindhi alphabet. This was evolved out of 28 Arabic letters by addition of dots to some and it resulted in 52 letters which were considered necessary to express the various shades of sounds prevalent in Sindhi language. The writer thinks that reversion back to Deva Nagari characters is ultimately inevitable. Consequently an alphabet is suggested to suit the Sindhi language.

According to the writer the Deva Nagari numerals have come out from the Butta or the vowelless letters used from times immorial in Sindh and Punjab. The way the Arabic and European figures have been developed from the Deva Nagari is also explained.

112115

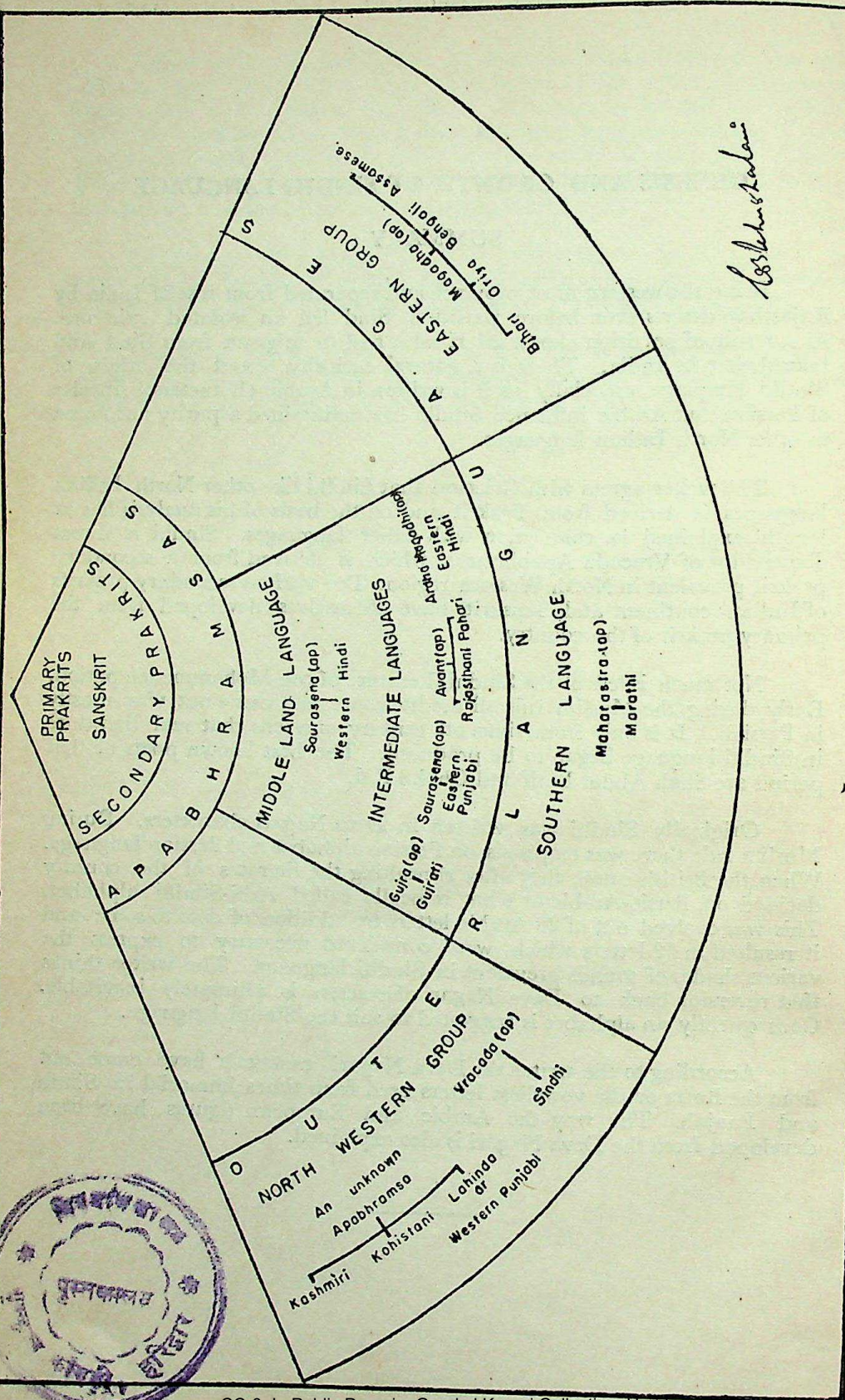


CHART 2

CONVERSION OF ARBI-SINDHI ALPHABET TO DEVNAGRI

S.No	Sindhi letters used in Hindi	Pure sindhi letters	Persio Arabic Letters	
			To be retained	To be merged
1	2	3	4	5
1	क ख ग घ ङ ڪ ڪ گ گھ گ	ग گ	گا ख غ غ	क ق
2	च छ ज झ ञ چ چھ ج جھ جھ	ज ج	ج	ج ض-ظ
3	ट ठ ड ढ ण ढ ٽ ٺ ڊ ڊھ ڻ ڙ			
4	त थ द ध न ٽ ٿ ڍ ڏھ ن	द ڍ		ت ط
5	प फ ब भ म پ ڦ ٻ ٻھ م	ब ٻ	ڦ	
6	य र ल व ي ر ل و			
7	श स ह ش س ه			س ث ص ه ه
8	अ ا			

Arif Hussain

CHART 3 DEVELOPMENT OF NUMERALS

Pronun- ciation	Sindhi Butta letters	Dev- nagari	English	Arabic
Ekam		१	1	१
Dui	Da 2	२	2	२
Tri		३	3	३
Chatur	Cha ४ ४	४	४ ४ ४ ४	४ ४ ४ ४
Panch	Pa ५	५	५ ५ ५	५ ५ ५ ५
Chhah	Chha ६	६	६ ६	६ ६ ६ ६
Saplo	To ७	७	७ ७	७ ७ ७ ७
Ashtho	Tho ८	८	८ ८ ८	८ ८ ८ ८
Nov	Va ९ ०	९	९ ९	९ ९ ९ ९

1934/11/6



